1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

585 the bride's house with a bowl of chang, and the relatives discuss the wedding-day and the spirits together. After the bridal day has been fixed, the bridegroom is obliged to send a portion of food and chang daily to his elect. After the end of fifteen or twenty days all the relatives of both parties assemble together to ask the bridegroom what present he will make to the mother of the bride. The bridegroom makes an offer, generally of a few rupees (one to ten), according to his means and the ardour of his love. A poor man will give a pot of chang and a silver *jao* (sixpence) to his bride's mother, while the thriving man will give a present of ten rupees. About ten or fifteen days after the "asking," the relatives of both parties assemble at the bride's house, and conduct the lady in state to the bridegroom's house, where prayers are read by a party of lamas, and the couple are declared man and wife. The whole party then sits down to dinner and chang, of which the supply on these occasions is always ample. The entertainment lasts for several days, according to the means of the bridegroom, and the assembled lamas read prayers every morning to the half-sober guests.

764 The funeral-feast, *Shid-Ton*, varies according to the rank and circumstances of the deceased. For a rich man, a large party of lamas assemble, and read prayers daily until the body is burned, which does not usually take place for fifteen or twenty days. For a poor man, only a few lamas meet together and read prayers for four or five days (never beyond a week), while the body remains in the house. During this time a piece of cloth is fixed over the doorway as a sign of mourning. The lamas are regaled with food and tea daily; and, when

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the body has been burned, they are presented with the clothes and cooking-vessels of the deceased. 764

When a great man dies, such as the Gyalpo or any of the Kahlons, his corpse is kept in the house for fifteen or twenty days, while the assembled lamas read prayers daily. The number of the lamas depends on the means or pride of the relatives. The body is then carried to the *Pur-khang*, or place of cremation, and after being burned in a metal vessel, the ashes (*Pur-thal*) are carefully collected and made into an image of the deceased. A *Chhorten*, or pyramid, is erected on the spot for the reception of an urn or funeral vessel (*Pur-Gom*), in which the following articles are deposited with the figure:— 766

1. Wheat, barley, rice, and peas.
2. Pearls, coral beads, turquoises.
3. Gold, silver, copper, iron (either in money or vessels).
4. Rolls of prayers and holy writings.
5. Pieces of the holy Shúkpá, or pencil-cedar, and of sandal-wood, both white and red.

The body of the great lama is interred in a coffin (*Pur-Gam*), dressed in the usual clothes, with the knees brought up to the chin, and corded together in as small a compass as possible, and in a sitting posture. Beside the body are placed the deceased's plate and cup, his rolls of prayers, his praying-cylinder, and all his religious instruments, together with the grains, minerals, and metals, usually deposited with royalty. To these are added images of Shakya Thûbba, Jámya, and Chanrazik, and a figure of the lama himself. The coffin is deposited in a *Chhorten*, before which, for some time, food and water are offered daily, and a light is kept burning every night.

583 Makpa is the term for the bridegroom selected by a woman. In this case the man belongs to the woman, not the woman to the man. If a man has a daughter and no son, and if he is also in a position to provide for her for her life, he arranges for a "makpa" for her; and in this way, he is able to select a man to marry his daughter and to come and live with him, thereby killing two birds with one stone, for not only does he thus avoid having to part with his daughter, who is practically his servant, but he gets an able-bodied man to come and join her, also as his servant. The brothers of a "makpa" can not share the makpa's wife. There is no loss of dignity involved in accepting the position of a makpa bridegroom. Under certain circumstances a woman may have a second husband, but see under "Husband".

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601 BROTHER--ácho (eldest) parma (middle) and no (young). Spoonla is the general term for full-blood brothers. The words "ácho" and "no" are used just as the Hindustanis use the word "bhai." If the speaker is the elder, he says "no" but if the person spoken to is the elder, the word "ácho" is used.

779 [15]BUDDHA--sangeys or SHakskia thuba. Each "kapla" or period (at the end of each of which the world, for its wickedness, is destroyed by fire) has its own Buddha. The name of the Buddha of the coming period is maitreya.

BUDDHIST--bót or sangeyspa or bótPa. The word "nángpa" or "insider" is used by bots when speaking of themselves as distinguished from Christians and Mahomedans, etc., who are termed "pheepa" or "outsider."

●764 BURIAL--The Buddhists of Ladák burn their dead. The Mahomedans use the Arabic word "dafan" but see "Funeral."

262 BUTTER--mar khagla or khagla mar (butter, or fresh butter) mar is a general term for butter, oil, and ghee. Europeans and their servants generally use the word "mar" to mean "fresh butter" but they are understood to mean the butter-like ghee, which is imported from Baltistan.

439

CENOTAPH--chhorten or chhotrten. The word "chhorten" means "a receptacle of offerings" Mr. Jasche describes them as being "a sacred pyramidal building, of a form varying in different countries...they were originally sepulchres, containing the relics of departed saints, and therefore called "dung rten" afterwards they were erected as cenotaphs, i.e., in honour of saints buried elsewhere, but in more recent times they are looked upon as holy symbols of the Buddhist doctrine." In Ladák, a wealthy Buddhist builds a "chhorten" for himself, leaving in the upper part of it a niche wherein, after his death and cremation, his ashes and powdered bones are placed. The niche is then built up. WT 778 764

[20] CHABA--chhaba. This is a corruption of "chhápa" meaning "tea man". The Leh officials speak of the Lhása commercial agent as the "chaba". His proper title is the zhung tsong or "zhung tsongpa" which means the merchant of the "deyva zhung" of Lhása. He comes once every year, and stays at Leh for about 8 months. He is sent by the Lhása Government, and is supplied with free carriage the whole way from Lhása to Leh, to the extent of 260 yaks or ponies for loading, and 15 riding ponies. During his stay at Leh, he is provided by the Kashmir Durbar with the following quantities of supplies, viz., flour 64 seers, butter 10 seers, sheep 1, grass 5 maunds, fuel 5 maunds. Two servants are also placed at his disposal. The principal articles brought by the "chaba" are tea (chiefly green brick tea), musk pods, incense sticks, Chinese turquoises, and certain medicines such as jádwár ("aconitus ferox") and momeera ("coptis teeta"). He takes back to Lhasa, saffron, Báltistán dried apricots and sugar. This "chaba" commercial agent is, in a way, connected with what is known as the "Lapchak mission" which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. For further information see "Lapchak". The Chhaba Mission being a profitable one; the right to conduct it is sold yearly by the Lhása Government, to a Lhása merchant. WT 441 439 T 441 439 492 WT 648 T 648 T 439 WT 439 T [441]

[21] CHIEF--gópa or góba the headman of village, etc., chenmo (principal). WT 622

CHIRAGH--skiontsey small--made of clay, stone or metal, for household use chut-khung the large brass or copper vessels in which oil is kept burning in temples. WT 415 788

797 CHURCH--chhoskhang. The Ladáki Buddhists do not as a rule assemble for public worship, though at the time of their New Year's day and on a few other occasions, large numbers of them go to the monasteries, to worship. The room into which they go is called the "chhoskhang" or "sacred books room." In the house of nearly every rich Buddhist there is a room called the "hlakchung" in which idols are kept and where a lama is in constant attendance, to pray, and keep the lights burning. Nearly every poor man too has an idol room in his house called "chhodkhang".

764 [22]COFFIN--Buddhists burn their dead so do not require coffins, but a kind of box or coffin called rórGHam or rumGHam is used for the conveyance of a corpse to the burning ground. This box, which is square, and without any lid, belongs to the monastery conducting the funeral. It is used repeatedly for the same purpose.

534 [23]CONCH--tung. The Tibetans, like the Hindus, use the conch as a musical instrument in connection with worship. They attach a mouth-piece to one end and a sort of trumpet-shaped pipe to the other, to increase the sound. This instrument is called a kártung.

428 [25]COTTAGE--khángpa (or khámpa) is the general term for a house or cottage. The small house occupied by parents after having given up their ordinary house, to their eldest son, on the occasion of his marriage, is called "khángoo," while the bigger house or cottage, made over to the son, is called "khángchhen."

601 COUSIN--azhang (throogoo or) thoogoo (father"s brother's child). áney thoogoo (father's sister's child); ámey mingbey thoo goo (mother's brother's child). ámey máchung thoogoo (mother's sister's child).

231 COW--bálang general, zhodma when in milk, barkam not in milk, dzómo the hybrid cow, a cross between the tame yak bull and an ordinary cow. The cows of Ladák give very little milk sometimes not even a seer a day. The milk of the dzomo is not of so delicate a flavour as that of the cow, but it produces excellent butter.

876 FRECKLE--teep-khap. Ladakis think that freckles are caused by looking at one's reflection in the unwiped mirror of another person, for this reason, before using another person's looking-glass, a Ladaki will be careful to wipe it thoroughly.

● 764 [49] FUNERAL--Buddhists in Ladák like to keep a dead body as long as possible, for the purpose of praying over it, and performing other religious ceremonies. For this reason it is considered better that a man should die in winter, when his corpse can be kept for 15 or 16 days, than in summer when the body must be burnt on the third day after death. When a death occurs, intimation is sent to all relatives to come to the funeral. At the time of the funeral "chhang"[1] and "satoo"[2] is provided at the house of the deceased, but the guests are all silent, and pretend to be much affected. They will eat and drink sadly, so long as the corpse is in the house but when it has been removed, they will not eat or drink in that house for a month. At the time of the occurrence of a death, a "hlobon" or "abbot" is sent for, from the nearest monastery; this official reads some religious extracts (this is called phóa tap ches) for half an hour or so, while so doing he holds the sacred book (phóalung speycha) in one hand, and with the other hand he takes hold of the pigtail of the deceased, if a male, and of the hair of the deceased, if a female. While reading the funeral service, the Abbot keeps on pulling and jerking the hair of the corpse. If by the time the reading is finished, any blood has come from the nose of the corpse, it is considered a very happy sign, as proving that the spirit (sem soul or SHok or SHrok life) of the deceased has entered into the presence of the Divine Idea (konjok), i.e., has entered paradise (zhing-kham or thóris), and attained nirvana (stongpa ngyid).

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[775] If no blood is to be seen, it is considered a sign that the dead person's spirit is wandering about in space, awaiting re-embodiment. In this case payments have to be made to the Lámas to pray for the wandering spirit.

764 614 [50] Having completed the reading, the Abbot stands aside, and the "phas-spun" of the deceased come with ropes, and tie the deceased into a squatting position; knees, hands and neck all tied close together. If the corpse has got stiff, the bones are broken, so that the necessary squatting position may be attained.

[1] [BARLEY BEER--ANALYST] [2] [BASIC BARLEY FOOD--ANALYST]

764 614 The word "phas-spun" signifies the persons who perform the funeral ceremonies, in so far as these involve the touching of the corpse. The office of "phas-spun" is hereditary and unpaid, a male corpse is attended upon by male "phas-spun" and a female corpse by female "phas-spun". If a stranger comes to a village, where his family has no "phas-spun" it is necessary for him to get some one to agree to undertake the office, a dinner is then given, and the man to whom the feast is given becomes the family and hereditary "phas-spun" of the giver.

It never happens that a "phas-spun" declines to perform his part. If a person dies without any "phas-spun," his corpse is treated as that of an animal; no one will touch it, and no religious ceremonies are performed over it, a rope is tied round it, and it is dragged away and either thrown into the river Indus or buried. But to return to the narrative. When the "phas-spun" numbering from 7 to 9 persons, have tied up the corpse (ro) into the approved attitude, they put it into a cotton cloth bag (rôres), and then remove it from the room in which it is, and take it to the "Chhodkhang" room (see "Church") of the house, and put it in a corner of the room, and stretch a shawl or other cloth across the corner, so as to hide the corpse. The Abbot (hlôbon) then comes into the "Chhodkhang" room, sits down just to the left front of the corpse and with his back to it, and other Lámás of lower rank also enter the room and sit facing the "Hlôbon." As soon as the corpse has been put in to the corner by the "phas-spun" these people retire, and none but priests are admitted into the "Chhodkhang," and these remain to pray, and to keep alight 101 brass lamps (chhodmey), and to offer food and drink to the deceased. The "phas-spun" and relatives of the deceased sit in another room. Till the time for the funeral or burning ceremony arrives, Lámás remain day and night in the "Chhodkhang" by day from seven to ten Lámás are probably present, and by night only one or two. The Lámás consult their books to see what is the auspicious time (zhák zâng) for the corpse to be removed to the burning ground (turtsa). When the time arrives for removing the corpse, the "phas-spun" and the nearest relative, (i.e., heir) whether male or female enter the Chhodkhang, and the "phas-spun"

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lift the corpse, and place it upon the chief mourners back, the latter then, bends down leaning upon two sticks carried in the two hands, and aided by the "phas-spun" carries the corpse to the entrance of the house; here it is placed in a square shaped coffin or box (rórGHam) provided by the monastery conducting the funeral. The rórGHam is then carried either by the "phas-spun" or relatives of the deceased, to the burning ground. If the chief mourner is a woman, she does not come to the burning ground, but, after having walked 3 times round the coffin and prostrated herself before it 3 times, she is conducted back to the house.

On the way to the burning ground, the Lámás go in front, praying and playing musical instruments, then follow the relatives, etc., and last of all comes the coffin. The corpse is placed in a sort of oven; the face being put down against the ground; the wood is then lighted and ghee is poured over the corpse by the Lámás.

When the first bone drops from the body, probably after 3 or 4 hours, the funeral ends, though the "phas-spun" remain to complete the burning. The Lámás take the bone back to the "Chhopkhang" of the deceased, and there pound it up, mix a little clay with it, and put it into a mould, which shapes it into a figure or idol (tshatsha). If the deceased was a rich man, this figure is built into a "Chhorten," (see Cenotaph) built for the purpose, and if he was poor man, the figure (tshátshá) is taken and placed in any old "chhorten". On the evening of this day, an open air feast is given to the mourners who then disperse.

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804 [51]FURLONG--The Ladákis do not measure distances as we do, but the Indian word "kós" or "kóso" is generally understood to mean about 1 1/2 to 2 miles. The Tibetan method of measurement is by the "migthoug," which means the distance, up to which a man can be clearly seen with the naked eye. In the clear atmosphere of Ladák, this would mean about 1 1/2 miles. Another method of measurement is by the "tháng" or "plateau". This is of very little use, as the "tháng" may be only a few hundred yards long, or it may be several miles long. For further information, see under "Lineal measure".

776 god, and so on with the Gods of water (chhoo), wood (SHing),
779 fields (zhing), store houses (páng), wealth (nor), etc. Beys hla is the God watching over one when travelling in foreign parts, khar i hla is the patron god of a castle or palace, and zhis hla and khim hla and hláloo are the Ladáki household gods.

GODDESS--hlámo. There are very few goddesses, the chief are "yum" the mother of all Buddhas, and dorjey phakmo.

293 GOGGLES--migSHel any kind of glass spectacles, migra a kind of eye-preserver, made by Ladákis out of horse hair, twisted into a kind of fine net work and shaped like goggles.

291 [54]GOWN--The ordinary dress of a Ladák woman consists of a patoo gown called "mo-GHos," in which the skirt and body are in one piece. A girdle or "skieyraks" is worn round the waist. On fair days and other great occasions they wear a petticoat, a skirt striped with red, green and yellow. These are called [439] "stakta" and cost about 20 rupees each, as they come from Lhása. A cheaper kind of holiday skirt called "thigma" is made of pattoo with flowers stamped in colours upon it.

343 GRANARY--giábang large, pánga a store room for grain, such as every cultivator keeps in his house.

764 GRAVE--romkhang Buddhist funeral pyre, kabar Muhammadan grave. The Christian burial ground at Leh is called "rom khang" but a grave (without a monument) is called thurthrot and "pangso" is the earth mound over a grave. Khakchan or nantan, important. Also tsher-rdong chhak ches, to look grave.

231 GREYHOUND--lingskhee. The word means "sporting dog," but it is applied more particularly to greyhounds, these [55] being the only kind of sporting dog known to Ladákis.

243 GRIM--nas or ngomdok, beardless barley or "grim". This is the
262 grain most in demand in Ladák. From it is made "satoo," which forms the food of the people, and "chhang," which is the national drink. It ripens at greater altitudes than other grains, (i.e., close up to 15,000 feet above the sea), it ripens more quickly, and it requires less manure.

415 [106]MUG--kórey; the shallow, saucer-like, drinking vessel made of wood, and some times lined with silver, which all Ladákis carry about with them.

764 MUMMY--ro skámpo. Tibetans usually burn their dead, but when a great Láma or Incarnation dies, they take the body, and without removing the inside, etc., place it, just as it is, in a large coffin, which is then filled up with salt, and removed to a suitable place where a chhorten is erected over it.

826 MUSCULAR--roosthak or roosthrak. Ladákis think a man full of blood (no muscle) is a strong man hence the name.

564 MUSICIAN--mon. In Ladák the "mon" is the musician caste. There
533 is no Ladaki word for "musician," the book word is rolmókhan.

000 MUZZLE--khamtshul (the lower part of face), khákaps (in Ladák these are made of plaited horse hair).

601 [107]NEPHEW--tasháo (general); acho-i-butsa (elder brother's son); no-i-butsa (younger brother's son); achey-i-butsa (elder sister's son); nomo-i-butsa (younger sister's son).

[108]NIECE--ácho-i bómo (elder brother's daughter); no-i bómo (younger brother's daughter); áchey-i bomo (elder sister's daughter); nomo-i bomo (younger sister's daughter); also tshámo (general).

779 NIRVANA--The Tibetan idea of attaining "nirvána" is their equiva-
781 lent to our idea of reaching "heaven". They think that life is bad; that it is full of pain and sorrow; and that the greatest conceivable bliss is the attainment of nirvána, or the state of "nothingness," which, according to our ideas, is the same as annihilation. "Stongpa ngyid" is the Tibetan equivalent for the Sanscrit "nirvána"; "ódsál" or "ótsál" (literally "light-bright") means the world to come--that place where it is always light and there is no night. "Sangeys thop ches" is to attain Buddhahood, or, in other words, "nirvána." "Kopang thop ches" is "to reach the standard of perfection" or Buddhahood. "Zhingkhams-la skiey ches" is "to be born in the field of merit," that is to say, to attain "nirvána" or to cease being reborn in this wicked world.

755 the lamas believed that she had really died. The p'as-pun (members of the tribe) were called in in order to pay their last respects to the "dead woman." Then, when after a few hours they wanted to raise her and put her into the prescribed crouching position, she suddenly opened her eyes; and within the next 14 days she gradually recuperated. The lamas said that their skurim was to thank for that. The Lhapa asserted that it had been his magic which had brought the dead woman back to life.

●[764] For several weeks the god of death still continued to rage and reap a rich harvest in the land. Almost daily smoke went up from the cremating ovens in the Kalatse gorge. There were two leprous persons,
766 as well, among the dead. First a woman died. Her corpse was thrown into the Indus by her husband. The corpse of a young boy was carried by his own father up the mountain for "burial." The corpses of leprous persons may not be burned; one is afraid of contagion through the smoke and the anger of the offended gods. Therefore the burial is left to the vultures and the fish.

761 Finally winter set in with cold and snow, early this time, and sickness and dying came to end. The agitated minds of the people gradually were set to rest But painful gaps had been torn into their ranks. Even among the young the god of death had this time claimed his victims. It was their karma, said the lamas, the fault of the sins of earlier existences; and the lamas would cite an old saying: "Sickness, grief, and ill repute, these three are the fruit of earlier existences that has now ripened" (163)

163. In Tibetan the saying goes: nad daṅ sdug-bsṅal gtam ṅan gsum--sṅon las rnam-par smin-pa yin.

/190/ The Karma Matures

888 There now followed again some quiet years for the inhabitants of Lower Ladakh, years in which they were spared disease and want. During these years Namgyal was able to build another addition to his house and his property, in view of his growing family--another son had been born to him. Close to his house he constructed another, smaller house as property reserved for old people (164), for his parents

164. It is a custom in Tibet for the owner of a farmstead to build a small house (k'aṅ-ṅu) as a reservation for his aging

who, she said, was the fault of everything by having turned her grandson away from the faith of Buddha and having made him into a Kristan. For this reason they were all now struck by the anger of the Buddhas and the gods. The women of the tribe joined in the howling of lamentation. This was required by custom. Entire Kalatse and the neighboring villages mourned over the Dragshos who had been leader and adviser to them, such as they had not had before among their people. 763

Towards evening a high lama came into the house. He had been called by Tsering Putrid to perform the first death ceremonies, so that her grandson would be accorded a proper Buddhistic burial; and so that the lamas would set right again what her grandson, misled by the Sahib (missionary), had "sinned" against the Buddhas and the sacred doctrine. The lama set about his work. He sat down by the side of the deathbed, on which the dead man was lying stretched out and covered with a white cloth. Then he proceeded to read passages /Following p. 204 there is one full-page illustration with the subtitle: "Interment. The corpse has been placed inside the 'coffin' in a crouching position."/ /205/ from the book t'os-grol, which are to show the soul the way into the Paradise of the West. Then the lama commanded the soul to leave the body and to release itself from all earthly matters, property, family, friendship, and so forth. He seized a small bush of hair on the dead man's skull and pulled it out, so that the soul would be able to escape through the resulting "opening," that is the openings which are thought to be created in the top of the skull by means of this proceeding. Then the lama gave the soul further instructions as to how it could escape the dangers with which it would be threatened in Bardo--the space between earth and paradise--on the part of the innumerable demons. The lama wished the soul bon voyage into the Beyond. That is the "Changing of the Body" (Tibetan, ap'o-ba adebs-pa). 764

When the lama had left the house a few p'as-pun arrived, washed away the traces of blood from the face and hands of the corpse, and placed it upright in a corner of the living room-kitchen, near the place which the dead man had always occupied at meals. Tsering Putrid also had the old devil-tamer called in again, whom the dead man had long ago dismissed. The devil-tamer was requested to set up the death horoscope and to ascertain the type, time, and form of the interment, as well as the astrologically suitable members of the tribe who alone may touch the corpse and carry out the burial.

Late in the evening the missionary came to the house--he was

/Following page 204/

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Interment. The corpse has been placed inside the 'coffin' in a crouching position.

/211/ CONCERNING THE MANNER OF BURING THE DEAD 764

AND THE RITES OF THE DEAD AMONG

THE BUDDHISTIC INHABITANTS OF

LADAKH

The Burial of Children

When a baby or a one to two year old child dies, (the corpse) is laid inside an earthen vessel or in a little box, and thus walled up into the wall of its own house (of the parents). Until the age of eight no kind of funeral ceremony is performed for children, the corpse is not cremated; it is carried into the mountain wilderness and hidden there. A lama makes a scattered offering (gtor-ma) (1), pronounces

1. When this scattered offering is carried out, aside from water, also larger and smaller pills made of bread dough to the size of "sheep pills" (!)--108 of such pills--are presented to the gods: to the gods up above (in heaven) five such "meals"; to the Pretas down below in the underworld and in limbo, and to the others each five of such "meals." Offerings are made in this manner to the eight p'yi-lus, to the abyuń-po, and to the mi-ma-yin (spirits). This cast or scattered offering is presented according to (the instructions in) the book: P'al-ĉer brgya rtsa (the "Ordinary Hundred," namely, storma offerings).

a prayer, gives the children (present) little rolls (p'u-li), roasted barley, and the like. This is known as the children's meal (byis-ston). In general (it is so) that at the death of children who have passed the eighth year of their life, the same death and purification rites are observed as in the case of adults; but some people also say that when somebody under twelve years of age dies no death rites have to be undertaken. The fact that no funeral rites are performed for people under their eighth or twelfth year is explaining in the following manner:

764 children that young do not know as yet the difference between good and evil; therefore there is also no need for these ceremonies. If we people of Ladakh (so say these people) had to observe these rites even among those younger than the eight-year-olds, then the burden (the expenses) would become so heavy that we would be unable to bear it. Therefore we do not perform any rites.

First Considerations and Practices

In case a person suddenly dies and the flour, butter, beer, and so forth, (necessary for the mass of the dead) are not present in the house, the death is kept a secret for three to four days, until these things have been procured. Then, when everything is prepared, a lama, /212/ who has performed the "Four Exercises" (2) (t'un bźi-po t'on-mk'an-gyi bla-ma), goes to call one of the p'as-pun. Those who already have everything in preparedness send a messenger immediately after the death (of the relative) out to the lama who takes care of the "changing of the body" (ap'o-ba adebs-m'kan).

2. These "Exercises of the four times of the day (tun)" are performed in each case at daybreak (t'o-rańs sha t'un), towards noon (nyin-p'yed dus guń t'un), towards six o'clock in the evening (p'yi-tog srod t'un), and towards midnight (t'san p'yed shon-du dgońs). With these four segments of time the lama concerned must recite the formula of refuge 100,000 times, other formulas of adoration 100,000 times, 100,000 Mandala (dkyil-ak'or), 100,000 yig-brgya, and other formulas. In order to get through all these Exercises, (a lama) needs about five months. The whole thing represents a testing of the lama.

Marks of the Virtuous and of the Sinner on the Dead Person

763 If the upper part of the dead person's body becomes cold while
775 the lower part of his body is still warm, then the deceased was a virtuous person in his lifetime. But if the upper part of his body is still warm while the lower part becomes cold, then this is taken as a sign that the person was a sinner. Why? The soul of the virtuous person escapes through an opening on top of the head in the fontanel, and

764 795 N[illegible] since there [illegible] Buddhistic sects in Ladakh, namely, the Geldanpa sect (the Sect of the Virtuous reformed by Tsongkapa), the Drugpa sect, the Drikung sect, the Saskya sect, and the Nyingmapa sect (the non-reformed sect), so there are also five different books concerning funeral rites and the tutelary gods (to be invoked). Accordingly, if one were to describe everything in detail, this would result in a very large book. Now, since in Ladakh there are particularly many lay adherents (literally, "gift offerers," sbyin-bdag) of the reformed Geldanpa and Drugpa sects, I shall here treat the death rites of the Geldanpa sects in somewhat greater detail (5).

5. As is shown by the following, the activity even of the orthodox Geldanpa lamas can here not be separated from that of the representatives of black magic, the onpos (soothsayers, magicians), without whose cooperation no Buddhistic interment is possible; the activities of both here go hand in hand. The onpo does not allow himself to be pushed out even by his bitterest enemies, the Geldanpa lamas, and he demands his right and his compensation.

764 If an adult person (that is to say, in general, one over twelve years of age) dies, first of all the p'as-pun (members of the tribe), secondly the lamas, thirdly the onpos (dbon-po, soothsayers) are needed in any case. Although originally only the members of the paternal tribe were called p'as-pun, now all those members of the clan are called p'as-pun in Ladakh, who honor a common tutelary deity (p'a-lha). Aside from the p'as-pun no person may touch the corpse (and even the p'as-pun may do so only when the magical signs allow it; the touching of the corpse makes the person who touches it impure).

The lamas perform ceremonies designed to expiate the sins of the deceased and to translate him into paradise. The soothsayer (onpo) establishes in the death horoscope of the deceased, whence the demon of death (gśed, meaning "killer") came and whither he has gone, something which has to be done for defense against immediately threatening misfortune; the onpo further establishes when the corpse is to be carried out of the house, where (in which of the six realms) the soul is to be re-embodied, and the like.

The Wailing of Lamentation

As soon as the relatives, the p'as-pun, the neighbors and

friends have all heard the news of the death of a person, they go into 764
the house in which the death has taken place, in order to console (the relatives). This is called the Great Meeting (k'ab-ap'rad). As soon as one /214/ of the visitors enters the house, the women of the circle of relatives and of the tribe immediately start up a wailing of lamentation and amidst crying tell of the passing away. The visitors appear before each of the mourners and say: "Don't cry! Don't cry! Do not grieve!" They stay for a little while and then go home. Only the p'as-pun stay in the house and pray continually the Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum while they turn the prayer wheel.

Rules Concerning Becoming Ritually Impure

When a woman's husband dies, the wife has to carry his corpse, 764
and in this way becomes (ritually) impure (yug-sa); if the woman dies 783
then her husband has to carry her corpse and becomes impure. The person who has become impure drapes a blackish blanket of goat's hair around himself in a dark corner, takes all his ornaments off, and puts on old clothes. The vessels, such as the kettle, the flour bowl, and so forth, of the person who has become impure (yug-sa-pa) are kept separate from those of the other inhabitants of the house. Since the surviving husband or wife is regarded as impure (6), the person con-

6. As "impure one" the person would otherwise offend and anger the earth, water, and household deities, and these would send sickness, drought, and crop failure upon the offenders.

cerned may not touch the hearth or the implements, in particular the eating and cooking implements in the living room; ordinarily this person may not leave the house either. If he leaves the house anyway, he may not cross over any irrigation ditches. If it is summertime, he may not go into the fields. Today there is still the chopped off and [688]
dried out hand of a woman to be seen in the monastery Gang-ngon (sgan-non) (7). This woman committed nine offenses of this kind (and

7. The monastery is at a distance of about fifteen kilometers from Leh.

was punished for them in this fashion).

783 In earlier times it used to be so, that, if a husband (or wife) died after the summer solstice, the surviving party had to be regarded as impure until the winter solstice. Nowadays the parties concerned need no longer remain separated from the other survivors for longer than a month. As soon as the month has elapsed, a lama brings the purification offering. Then each of the relatives and members of the tribe prepare a delectable meal and bring it together with beer (into the house of mourning). This is called the "meal of mourning" (sdug-bzan). With this the mourning is concluded (sdug-sdug-bsaṅs) (8).

8. This can also be translated: "The purification is completed."

The woman again washes (and braids) her hair, /215/ changes her clothes, the ornaments are again put on, they eat and drink and give themselves over to uninhibited gaiety.

The "Changing of the Body."

763 In the book t'os-agrol (9) it says that at the approaching death

9. The full title of the book is: t'os-pa t'sam-gyis agrol-ba t'ob-pai ^cos, the doctrine by the hearing of which a person is immediately saved.

(of a person) a lama of high rank must be present between the external breathing out and the (final) inner breathing out of the soul, in order to read the book t'os-agrol and to introduce the "changing of the body" (of existence, ap'o-ba adebs-pa). However, in most cases it is so, that when the dying person still feels healthy shortly before his death, he himself and the entire family hope for his recovery, yes, none of them even thinks of his dying. Finally, the relatives frequently do not think of calling in the lamas even in case of great danger of death. The custom of calling the lamas before the death exists neither in Ngari nor in Central Tibet (but it does exist in Western Tibet).

•764 As soon, then, as death has actually set in and everything in the house is prepared, a p'as-pun is sent out in order to call a lama who has performed the "Four Exercises" and who has attained the rank of an abbot. The abbot sits down by the deceased and waits. It is not a general custom to serve the dead person any food aside from tea on this occasion. But some people do serve the dead person his favorite

dish at this "changing of the body." To begin with, now, the abbot 764
spreads the apo-rdzas, that is, the pills called "changing substance," rubbed into a powder and mixed with butter, on the skull of the deceased person. Then he recites a formula to exorcize the soul of the deceased person, which goes: "The truth of Buddha, the turth of the Law, the truth of the Monkhood (therefore the 'Three Jewels' which correspond to the concept of the divinity), the truth of the secret formulas of exorcism and of the family exorcizing formulas, the truth of the host of gods belonging to the tutelary god Amitabha (10). Trusting in the

10. Tibetan, Od-dpag med; he is one of the five "Heavenly Buddhas," the spiritual father of the Dhyanibodhisattva Avalokitesvara, the particular tutelary deity of Tibet.

power of this (fivefold) truth, may Tsering who has departed from this world into the Beyond, wheresoever the thinking substance (rnam-śes, Sanskrit, vijñana) (11) of his soul may be at the moment: in Bardo, or

11. "Thinking substance" translates the Sanskrit word vijna [761]
(Tibetan, rnam-śes). It designates according to ancient Indic philosophy one of the five skandha (elements life) which in their composition constitute a living creature. At the death of a person this non-corporeal "substance" which comes into being through the slumbering impressions of previous existences (samskara) that have remained behind, stays behind as final germ of life. Unless these latent impressions and germs of life are destroyed by patient striving after the highest recognition (Bodhi), a new will to live is again awakened, new forms are fashioned, new reincarnations take place, and with them there comes new suffering.

in one /216/ of the four places of births, in whichsoever of the united four realms of the world he may be, may he rest here for a brief little moment!" This the priest whispered three times (into the ear of the dead man) and in the belief in Amitabha, the Buddha of the immeasurable light, he then read the book t'os-agrol and the book "Of the way of changing the body." Then he recited the prayer asking for translation into Paradise. When that was over, (one of the relatives of the deceased) gave the monk six or eight annas as "changing compensation" (ap'o-yon, compensation for the "changing of the body").

764 If a woman has died the topmost, best turquoise of the woman's head ornament may also be given as compensation in this case. It is said that some rich people give the lama even a horse or a yak as "changing compensation." In Central Tibet, when the lama (who has been called upon) is prevented by circumstances from coming to the house of the layman concerned (in which the death has taken place), the lama sends a messenger on horseback with the "changing material" (ap'o-rdzas) and performs the "body changing ceremony" in his monastery or in his hermitage. This is called "long-distance" (rgyah ap'o-debs).

If the "gift offerer" (pious layman) belongs to the Drugpa sect, he has a Drugpa lama called, who has performed the "Four Exercises" (and therefore possesses the rank of abbot). This lama first of all recites an entrance formula, then formulas of exorcism, and then he calls upon the spirits; thereupon he reads the book entitled "Of the harmful rainbow" (12) concerning the "changing"; and as he now shouts

[821] 12. The rainbow, which in the astronomy of the ancient Indians was already reckoned among the planets, is thought of, like all the celestial bodies, as a divinity which is frequently hostile towards mankind, and which sends down upon it afflictions like epilepsy, brain hemorrhage, and the like.

"hik!" three times, and "pat!" once, he pulls out a few hairs from the dead man's head (13). This he does three to five times. By doing

[826] 13. The soul is presumed to make its exit by way of the little openings that have been created through pulling out the hairs. In the belief of the lamas, the hairs go all the way through the top of the head.

this the priest believes that the soul of the deceased is taken up in the soul of the sublime Dorje Chang (rdo-rje ac̣aṅ) (14), and that in this

14 In Sanskrit Vajradhara, a form of the Bodhisattva Vajrasattva.

way it arrives in Paradise. All this is done so that the soul of the deceased may be preserved against the terrors of Bardo or of a new rebirth. Later on, something will be said about the offerings and dishes presented on this occasion. The sign that the change (of the body)

has proceeded properly, is the secretion of seminal fluid in the case of the men, and of blood from the ear of the corpse in the case of women. After the cremation of the corpse there are supposed to be tiny openings in the top of the head (through which the soul is supposed to have escaped).

/217/ The Preparation of the Body for Burial

Until the ceremony of the "changing of the body" is completed, no one touches the corpse. It is feared that otherwise the soul will be driven out of the body prematurely by a shock, before the lama has shown it the certain way to release, and that it would then wander about restlessly and without protection in Bardo. When the process of the "changing of the body" is over, the p'as-pun take off all the ornaments that the dead person has on him. Some of the p'as-pun wash the corpse, others salve it with hot butter. (The corpse is then taken into the household temple and set down there.)

It is told that in earlier times in Tibet many dead persons had come back to life. From then on there arose the custom of making the doors of the household temple very low and tying the corpses down with strings. In Lahul the men as well as the women all wear a string of wool constantly slung under the sash around their body, so that, in case someone should die in a place where no string is available, (the corpse) can still be tied with the woollen string (and so that in this way the corpse that has come back to life cannot escape). For the person who has been resurrected from death is unable to bend down, and thus he is also unable to get out of the household temple, being prevented from doing so by the low door and the string. The corpse is now put into a crouching position: both knees of the corpse are pulled up to the chin, and both hands up to the ears; then (the body) is tied with strings and shaped into a bundle, in this position. It is said that this is the form of the Dorje (rdo-rje) (15). Now the corpse is put inside a linen sack,

15. The dorje (Sanskrit vajra, meaning "thunderbolt") is the magical weapon of the gods and the priests in their battle against the demons.

linen sack, called the winding sheet (ro-ras), and then it is placed inside the household temple (16) on a platform made of bricks. A curtain

16. In many parts of Tibet the corpse is placed in a squatting

764 position in a corner of the living room, unless the corner just happens to be inhabited by the household god: the onpo decides upon that. The corpse has its share of each meal placed in front of it.

is also hung in front of it.

/219/ THE ACTIVITY OF THE ONPOS (SOOTHSAYERS AND MAGICIANS), THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BON RELIGION (17), AT THE INTERMENT

771 17. Coming from present-day Turkestan, the Bon religion penetrated into Tibet at approximately the same time as Mahayana Buddhism, which was introduced from present-day Afghanistan (Udyana). It (the Bon religion) represents a peculiar mixture of the ancient popular religion of the peoples of Persian race residing there and of Mahaya Buddhism which at that time was also widespread in that region. Despite the [748] similarity and close kinship of the two clashing religions in Tibet, there was kindled a very bitter war between the two religious forms in Tibet in the seventh and eighth centuries, when the rulers and their priests there attempted to make Buddhism into the dominant religion. But Buddhism has never been able to exterminate the Bon religion. Hence this existence side by side of lamaistic and of Bon practices.

791 There are three kinds of onpos: first, white ones, secondly, black ones, and such who practise black and white magic at one and the same time. The white magicians prepare the calendar and occupy themselves with the calculation of the retribution (abras-rtsis) of human deeds. The black magicians undertake their exercises according to the manner of the Bon religion. Since they know black as well as white magic, they also prepare the calendar. They perform religious exercises and rites in the manner of the Bon.

From the day following the "changing of the body" the actual

From the day followed the "changing of the body" the actual 764 ●
death ceremonies begin. The lamas sit in the household temple, the magician who is expert in black magic is called in together with the lama who took care of the "changing of the body." They do not enter the temple at first, but sit down in another (adjoining) room and set up the (death) horoscope.

Let us give an example here: The snake year person Tsering 764
died, at the age of 42, on the 28th day of the 12th month of the Wood- 787
Pig year, on a Thursday in the dragon hour at sunrise. Now, after the 784
"changing of the body" has been carried out, the onpo must look up in the book about the za-ade (the demons who cause the death of human beings), whither the death demon of Tsering has turned. For the 28th day of the 12th month there is written in the book: On this "pig day" the demon of death has turned towards the East. He has now entered the house of a person with a lame leg only 15 paces away. The two people in that house, the snake year person and the pig year person, will suffer harm from evil spirits. They are quickly to perform ceremonies and make protective offerings (gtor-zlog). For the further ceremonies to be held (there), one should consult the book /219/ "The collected clear astrological instructions for the dead (gśin-rtsis kun gsal)." Since the wandering of the demon of death is described as such in the little book, and since a lame person actually lives to the east of the house of the deceased Tsering (!), the onpo is quickly called, and he is made to perform the necessary ceremonies for protection. This 776
death demon (za-adre) is feared greatly by all people. They say that one step taken by this za-adre is equal to the two ells' jump of a living person (18). In the horoscope there now follows, as in the (money)

18. That means that there is no escaping from him.

donations of a noble queen, an ample count of the Shed (gśed, demons or killers) (19), and of the offerings necessary to fend them off.

19. gśed (meaning, "killers, demons of death"), another expression for za-adre. However, gśed also is an abbreviated expression used to designate the periodically returning offering ceremonies for the exorcism of the demons concerned.

The Year's Shed ("Offering")

●764 787 789 Since Tsering was a snake year person, it says in the horoscope: When a snake year person dies a bird year person and a pig year person must be fetched. These persons hide a red or dark blue piece of cloth cut to measure, as well as any jewels that might be available, inside an old leather sack that has been slit open at the top, or inside a black vessel. (This is done as an offering to the Shed demon, the "killer.") These things are also covered with a hide or grains of barley; (in the former case) it must be the fresh hide of a black goat or of a yak killed by one of three Bon priests as a sacrifice to the Shed. The head of the (killed) /second parenthesis supplied by the translator, as it is missing in the text./ yak or of the goat is placed facing north, the right front leg towards the east, and the left towards the west. The spinal column is dragged along the earth. Sayings (mdo-mañ, Mantra), among them the "Formula of the Crown of Hair," (20) are recited. The lha-gsol

20. In this case the thought is probably of hair belonging to Gautama Buddha, the Ushnisha (Tibetan, gtsug-tor), which is to be seen in all pictures of Buddha.

(invocation to the gods), the gyañ-agug (good luck bringing) ceremony, as well as the ceremony of the "string cross of the tent" (gur-mdos), are performed. Thereupon the demon of death escapes to a woman who has a red dog with red flesh

The Monthly Shed Offering

Since the 12th month (in which Tsering died) is the pig month, it says in the horoscope: He who dies in the pig /220/ month, had actually finished his life already in the snake month. The demon had carried him (that is, his soul) off to the northeast.

Since the 28th day of the 12th month is the "heavenly door of the grave" (because heaven is opened up for the death demons and they can escape from it), the black magician must close the heavenly portal in the following manner (21): above the front door of the house of the

21. This is done so that the demons of death will not harm the people.

deceased Tsering, a mouth, eyes, and so forth are painted with clay 764
on a ram's skull; (for the rest) the skull is covered with paint. On its 787
forehead is drawn the magical Sparka sign "Khen" (22) of Tsering. 789

22. Khen is the lord of the gods and the demons of heaven.

This skull is attached above the house door and over it is placed a mdos (string star) made of sticks and strings in five colors. This star is called "heaven." Again above this is put an arrow with narrow ribbons of five colors. On the right-hand side of the skull a spotted (probably by means of partial charring) arrow is affixed, to the left a spindle (23) spotted

23. Compare note 106 in its main part!

in like manner, and to the right of the spindle a board bearing the picture of a man's face is attached. Finally as many crosses are carved (into the board) as the number of years in the age of the surviving man (24) in the house. On the left-hand side on the board, a woman's face

24. Even if Tsering was the husband of a woman, it was still possible that a second or a third brother of Tsering lived as her husband in the house.

is to be seen and next to this as many crosses as the "pious offerer of gifts" (25) is old. If the woman (the widow) is for instance 25 years of

25. The widow of the deceased man, who offers up gifts for the salvation of her husband.

age, then 25 crosses are carved into the board. When all this is completed, the onpo offers up a drink offering (gser-skyem) before this whole (magical apparatus). This is called the "closing of the heavenly portal." If the heavenly portal were not to be closed, the inhabitants of the house would suffer harm (through the demons that have been set free). When the portal of the earth is opened and it is not closed, it is believed that damage will be suffered among the crosses in the livestock (26).

26. For instance, among the dso (a cross between a yak bull and an Indian cow) /second parenthesis supplied by translator,

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since omitted in text./, the mules, and others.

The closing of the portal of the earth proceeds in the same way as the closing of the portal of heaven described above. However, in this case a dog's skull, instead of a ram's skull, is painted, and not the word "Khen," but the word "Khon" (27) is written on it. This is

27. The Old Khon, the earth mother, mistress of all earth demons and earth spirits, corresponds to the Old Khen, the lord of the heavenly spirits.

called the Great Seal (on the portal of the earth, which prevents the demons from escaping).

/221/ The Influence of the Day of Death and of the Hour of Death

Now, since Tsering died on the 28th day of the month, on the pig day, (so it says in the horoscope): He was born as a magician in a previous existence. (After that former existence) he died in the sixth month of the dragon year.

Since Tsering died around the dragon hour, after sunrise, (it says in the horoscope): He died around the time of the (first) warmth of the sun (around 10 o'clock) (28). The devil (bdud) deprived him of

28. In the narrow valleys of Tibet the sun rises, if at all, very late.

life at the break of day. The devils and the Tsan (bt'san) have acted upon him as killers (gśed). The killers accordingly came from the northwest, and used yellow leather things as a hiding place. Even now they are still hidden in them. Hang out a yellow flag and a hairy hide. At first the (chief) killer appeared as a dragon, then, after 11 days, as an ox. That is bad for the bird year and the ox year persons, as well as for the little boys in the house. Then, again, the death demon was changed into the body of a snake. You must make a picture of a snake and must set this up at a point where many roads meet, after you have pressed it inside a pig's skull. Later the demon again hid himself in a small leather sack in the East.

When a woman dies and her spirit walks about in the house,

powerful ceremonies must be held. She will assume the body of a horse for ten years. For the deceased woman (the book) rdo-rje gĉod-pa stoṅ-rtsa (the thousand Dorje Chodpa), and (the book) mdzaṅs-blun (the wise man and the fool), must be read. Then she will be born as the "Goddess of the small light." But unless this is done, she will be born in the body of the sublime White Bird (29).

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29. Probably a mythical creature of Bon mythology. Compare notes 80 to 81 in the main sections!

Evil Magical Signs

Since Tsering's Sparka sign in his 42nd year of life (the year of his death) had turned out to be the Khon (sign), it says in the horoscope: When someone dies under the Khon sign, the Jaksha demons carry off (his soul). If a woman dies (under this /222/ sign), then her dying (being reborn) is all over. If a husband dies in this way, then matters are bad (for him); then the earth demons carry him (his soul) off. Tsering died with his face turned either to the south or to the north--the retribution for his "Black Changing" (30). It is (also) bad for the old

30. His dying in sin.

people and for the invalids, as well as for the livestock. If the person concerned (who dies under the Khon sign) is reborn, then he will take pleasure in continual eating and drinking (debauchery), and in bow and arrow (31).

31. The sinful weapons of murder.

Now the death demon is once again inside the black leather bag. The leather bag is to be placed down on the ground by a fork in the road. Then the demon will go to an old, invalid man. A hare's skull and various kinds of wood are to be placed on the corpse (of Tsering), in order to prevent this. Then the demon again hides in the northeast. He hides in the buttermilk of cow and sheep Now in the southwest the demon slips into a sheep year woman. Later he goes again to where there is a cow and a yellow checkered watch dog (sgo-k'yi). Then again he conceals himself with a married couple in a box or in a roll of yellow cloth or in a front leg (of meat) which has been cut and

●764 and left lying about. The "sap of death" (gśin-rlun) (32) is caused by
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32. According to the physiology of the Tibetans and the Indians, as well as of Aryan peoples in olden times, the functions of the body and of the mind of human beings depend upon the proper functioning of the three bodily juices (humors, Tibetan, nyespa-gsum) which circulate along particular channels inside the body. These are air, gall, and slime. If the functioning of the "Three Juices" is disrupted, then diseases or nervous disorders arise; gsin-rlun, meaning "juice /or sap/ of death, causing death."

the evil Sparka sign.

The winding sheets for the corpse must be blue; the door of rebirth (ĉad-sgo) is in the east, because in the southwest the hostile earth spirit(earth naga) has arisen. A chorten is to be built with blue bumpa (33). On the steps of the chorten human bones are to be crushed in order

33. Bumpa; meaning the cone-shaped middle part of the chorten.

to overcome the evil spirits. The books "Of the grave" and "Of the prayer of the old woman" (abum daṅ gres-mo źus-pa) are to be read. The door of the grave is closed by an ox and a sheep. Paint the grave white at the top (34). Press the seal of the Sparka-Khon on it! It is

34. Probably with the skulls of these animals. The grave stone serves as a receptacle for the ashes of the cremated body.

good to ascertain thro gh the "burning of the mask" whether (the battle) is to be risked or not. Eighteen years--that is a man's age. But if he dies through Khon (the anger of the earth mother), then the door of death is opened. If an old woman dies, then the portal of death is closed. Since the signs of the year of a mouse year person and of a pig year person are hostile (towards Tsering), /223/ these people are not allowed to perform any kind of preparations on the dead man.

Since the Red Nine turned up as Tsering's Mewa sign, it says in the horoscope: If someone dies under sign of the Red Nine, then the demon of death will conceal himself in a cow or in some red object. These thing are to be carried out of the house. If the man died during the day the ceremony of the god Schiwa (lha-dbaṅ-p'yug), of the Golden

String Cross (zer-mdos), and of the Bloody String Cross (k'rag-mdos) is to be performed. Since disaster is approaching, the Yang-agug ceremony must be performed. A statue of the Bodhisattva Manjusri (ajam-dbyaṅs) is to be set up. 764 787 789

Which Days of the Week, Dates in the Month, and Hours of the Day are favorable for a Funeral

In the "calculation of retribution" (abras-rtsis) (35) it is stated

35. The title of a book.

that the four days of the week, Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are very favorable days for the preparations on the body. Since Tsering died on the 28th, a Thursday, the religious exercises can be held for three days, from Friday to Sunday, after the "changing of the body" has been carried out on Thursday. The Monday is the second day of the first, that is, the Fire-Mouse, month; the constellation (k'rums-smad) (36) of this month is favorable for the preparations on

36. The astronomy of Tibet names 30 constellations through which the moon travels in the course of one month; k'rums-smad is the 25th in the series. [821]

the corpse. But since Tsering was a snake year person, his corpse may not be carried out of the house at the snake hour (37). It must be taken

37. Around 11 o'clock in the forenoon.

away either earlier or later. This applies not only with respect to the respect to the deceased, but also with respect to the surviving inhabitants of the house (38); namely that when the zodiacal sign of the year of

38. Insofar as they take part in carrying the corpse out.

the birth (of the persons concerned) corresponds with the animal sign of the hour of the day, the corpse may not be carried out of the house at such an hour. But if the corpse has to be carried out quickly under all circumstances, then the black magician (nag-rtsis-pa) must perform

764 787 789 the purification of the sins of the year (lo-sgrib), the sins of the month (zla-sgrib), and of the other sins; and he must also perform other ceremonies, if necessary. Then the corpse may be carried out.

/224/ Since Tsering was a snake year person, the snake year persons among his tribe and among the inhabitants of his house are forbidden not only to touch the corpse, but also even to look at it. But if the magician gives them the Nag-po dgu-t'ub amulet (39), they

39. /The text has two footnotes numbered 38, the second being clearly a misprint for 39. --translator./ The amulet which exorcizes the "Black Nine" (probably Bon demons).

may perform the preparations. Tsering's wife was undoubtedly supposed to carry her husband's body, but if she is a snake year woman she may not carry it either (nor touch it).

On the eight dates of the month, the first, the eighth, the ninth, the 18th, the 19th, 28th, 29th, and the 30th, no kind of preparations on the body are to be performed. On the other hand, the six dates of the fifth, the seventh, the 15th, 17th, 25th, and the 27th, are very favorable for these preparations; the remaining 16 dates have neither profit nor harm in them; this appears clearly from the book about the "calculation of retribution."

Since for seven days the disastrous elements (Sanskrit, skandha) (40), which fashioned the earthly body and which are called zin-puń,

40. Concerning the five skandha, see note 11.

float around, no kind of work, either good or evil, may be performed during these days. Now, if it is also stated that on the days of the zin-puń, the purification may not be carried out, then this means that as of recent times the onpos nevertheless do carry out the purification on the days named. Sometimes the corpse is even carried out of the house on these days.

The Signs of the Future Re-incarnation

"Since the Red Nine turned out to be the Mewa sign of the 42-year old Tsering, he would have to be reborn again as a dog and (later) as a donkey. But if you set up the image (the bronze or clay statue) of the Bodhisattva Byams-dbyańs (Sanskrit, Manjusri) in the

household temple, and if you have Mantras (magical formulas) recited, in order to prevent this, he shall be reborn in the south in the land of the Mon (India). These birth signs can be clearly seen from the book 'Khotlo' (meaning, 'wheel of the transmigration of souls'). " In this wa, the magical priest explains in detail the birth signs and the ceremonies resulting from them, to the "gift offerer" (layman). The onpo performs the necessary ceremonies in the manner of the Bon religion. Sometimes /225/ it also happens that when the exercises (of the lamas) are already completed (which bear a Buddhistic character), the exercises of the onposcontinue. The "gift offerer" has the idol manufacturer fashion up to twice daily for four days on end, in accordance with the birth signs of the deceased, images (clay figures) of the creatures (animals, human beings, gods) designated by the onpo, or also painted images (tanka) of the same.

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The things given to the death demon for concealment are not thrown away. They are handed over to the magical priest. Not only that, also clothes, shoes (belonging to the deceased) and other things are given to the practitioner of black magic, who has performed the exercises. All the ceremonies, like gyaṅ-agug, gto-ĉos, the mdos (string cross, string star), the "Great Stag's Horn" (śa-ba-ru-rgyas), the "Four Seals, " and other exercises are indeed all Bon practices. A saying of the adherents of Bon goes: You have overcome a Persian, you have made a magical priest (41).

41. Among the Persian tribes in present-day Turkestan, the Bon religion conquered over the popular religion which was current there, and there came into existence that mixed religion of the Bon which has already been characterized, and which has a strong leaning towards Mahayana Buddhism. Yet here, more than in India or in Tibet, the cult of demons and magic remains an essential part of the religious activity of the priests.

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The Burial Practices of the Lamas (In Contra-distinction to Those of the Onpos)

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Even poor house owners call in four to five lamas who are equipped with drums, magical bells, cymbols, and other implements, (into their house). The rich call in as many lamas as they can possibly get to perform the burial ceremonies. Aside from a first donation

764 (p'ud) consisting of flour, at the "changing of the body," no further offering is demanded on this occasion. On the occasion of the performance of the death rites and the "burning of the paper" (sog-pa sreg-pa) (42) by the (reformed) Geldanpa lamas, three sacrificial cakes

42. The death mask made of paper is meant.

which are made of roasted barley flour, and which are called the "Three Roots" (43) are presented; in addition, three little offering

43. Offerings for the destruction of the "Three Root Sins": evil desire, hatred, and stupidity (Tibetan, rtsa-da gsum).

lamps, three brass bowls filled with barley and called gzi-nas (44),

44. Probably because this offering is dedicated to the gźi-bdag, the local deity.

as well as five or seven brass dishes filled with water are offered up. This water is called the sacrificial water (and it is offered in place of wine). Sometimes a relative (of the dead man) will also present an offering of 100 lamps, which is called the offering of the hundred /226/ lamps (rgya-mĉod), upon the occasion of the holding of the ceremonies.

Now, when, as in the case of the above-named Tsering, (funeral) ceremonies are held for four days on end, the expenses of one day are met by the house (of the deceased), the expenses of the three other days are paid by the relatives and the p'as-pun. Since the inhabitants of the house honor the Yamantaka (Tibetan, ajigs-byed) as tutelary deity, the lamas undertake the exorcisms which are called the bdag-skyed, mdun-skyed, bum-skyed, and bdog-ajug. When they perform these ceremonies they not only wear the bdaṅ dress (the magical vestment prescribed for this), but they also dress the corpse with this vestment (45). In winter they do not take this magical vestment off

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45. To this also belong the magical implements: dorje, bell, drum, bone trumpet, and the like.

(the corpse) until the death ceremonies are completed. In summer the vestment (with the implements concerned) is taken off the corpse

as soon as the (above-named) exorcisms have been completed. 764
Poor people only have such exercises performed for one day. 789
Rich people, on the other hand, have them performed up to two weeks (and longer).

The "Burning of the Paper" (The Paper Mask)

Four days after the death, on the first day of the second segment of time (consisting each of four days), the "burning of the paper," the byaṅ-ĉog, takes place. In the monastery, they (the monks) each have a carved printing plate with the picture of a man or a woman. Now since Tsering (the deceased) was a man, the picture of a man is printed on paper and his name--Tsering--is written on it. Then the (printed) paper is placed between the feathers of an arrow and a greeting ribbon (k'atag) is wound around the end of the (folded)together) paper. Now barley is poured into a measure (bre) (46) and placed before the

46. One bre (dry measure) contains two ample liters.

abbott (present). The arrow is stuck into the barley. Then the bdag-skyed and the other exercises are performed, as indicated above, and texts and formulas are recited. In order to annul the sins of the deceased, because of his trespasses, scattered offerings (bgegs-gtor) are presented to the demons /227/. Through the recital of magical texts the sins are also annulled. Furthermore, the purification from sins is brought about by the reading of the "Six Books of the Transcendent Wisdom (śes-rab-kyi p'a-rol-tu p'yin-pa; Sanskrit, prajnya paramita)"; further, the exculpation from sin is effected by the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, Law, Monkhood); finally, also, sins are done away with through the "Four Elements" (47). 764 783

47. The four elements are: earth, water, fire, and air. Sometimes ether is added as the fifth element.

When according to the instructions of the books (concerned), these exercises are completed, the corpse-bearer takes the arrow in place of the dead body, and sticks it in his sash (which he wears slung around his body), and sits down behind the seat of the deceased (which was his during his lifetime in the circle of his household companions). 764

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The Feeding of the Dead Person-- The Burning of the Paper (The Paper Mask of the Dead Person)

Now the abbot makes a hollow in the middle of a large flour dumpling which is handed to him; into it he pours melted butter, sprinkles sugar on it, and on top of this he places a piece of meat, and further he puts bread and cake in a circle around the flour dumpling in a dish; in a second dish he puts rice, and he puts tea in a jug, fills beer into another jug and places everything down in front of the corpse. These are the dead person's favorite dish (48) which are

48. It is supposed that the soul of the dead person enjoys the essence of the dishes, so that afterwards the nutritive power of these has disappeared.

"pleasing to the taste." Now, after these dishes have been placed before the dead person according to the manner of the Bon, the abbot's servant takes a little something from the dishes, fashions from it a flat cake, and lays this down on the little table in front of the abbot. The latter takes the flat cake and holds it to a burning torch or to the burning sacrificial fire. Then, when (at the reciting of formulas) he comes to the particular place "of the burning of the paper," he takes the greeting ribbon off the arrow (the abbot receives this greeting ribbon), takes up the paper mask (with the picture of the deceased), holds it above the flame, and then, when the paper mask, lying on the flat cake, is completely burned, the abbot folds the ashes of the paper inside the flat cake, forms the latter into a lump, and hands it to one of the p'as-pun; the latter lays the /228/ lump down inside the household temple (in which the corpse is still laid out). As compensation for this "paper burning" the lamas receive an entire suit of clothing belonging to the deceased (49).

49. In my opinion the custom of burning the paper mask is founded upon the conception that by it the existence which is now concluded, is completely destroyed after the soul of the departed, whose reappearance is feared by the relatives, has also been appeased by the presentation of dishes. --In some parts of Tibet a rough doll is created on the day on which the corpse is carried out of the house. This crude doll is fashioned

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by hanging the clothes of the deceased on a block of wood, a chair, or the like. The doll is supposed to represent the deceased. In place of the face a printed picture is attached, which represents in rough outline a man or--in other cases--a woman. The figure in the picture sits in a posture of adoration. Underneath it is written the name of the deceased and a prayer addressed to the lamas, the Buddhas, the "Root Lama" and to the hosts of gods, asking for forgiveness of all sins, for blessing and for speedy attainment of the dignity of a Buddha. In front of this doll dishes of food and drinks are placed for seven weeks, instead of in front of the corpse which has been taken away. The burning of the paper mask represents, then, the last farewell from the departed and is intended to prevent his reappearance; it takes place at the conclusion of the seven weeks; as a rule the funeral rites are concluded with this ceremony The doll is then undressed, and the lamas divide among themselves the clothes and other belongings of the dead person. During the burning of the paper mask, the lama determines from the form and the color of the flame, of what nature the new existential form of the departed person will be. If this is of an unfavorable kind, for instance a rebirth in the animal kingdom, or as a beggar, as one tortured in hell, new ceremonies are prescribed and held for the "salvation of the unfortunate." These ceremonies drag out for weeks. The ceremony of the "Western Paradise" is repeated until the end of the seven weeks every week, and the expenses of all these exercises are of such a kind that it is extremely rare that a single individual can bear them alone. The p'as-pun then help in bearing the burden. The poorer the relatives of the dead person are, the fewer exercises they have performed.

If the funeral ceremonies drag out into many days, the following books are also read (by the lamas): "the praise of the eight blissfully perfected (Buddhas) (bde-bar gśegs-pa brgyad-kyi bstod-pa)," the book "of the medicine Buddha (sman-bla)," the book of the "offering of the lamas," of the "good metamorphosis (bzaṅ-spyod)," of the "beginning of the good metamorphosis (spyod-ajug)," of the "prayer for paradise (bde-ba-can-gyi smon-lam)," "of infinity (mt'a-yas-[illegible] mo)," the "Prayer to Maitreya (byams-pai smon-lam)," and so forth, as many books as possible, countless (books).

The Burial By Fire

•764 First a "magical square" (t'ab-t'ig, literally, "oven picture") must be created and must be spread out in the cremating furnace of the fathers. A dorje (thunderbolt) is to be drawn into the fourth center field of a (probably squared?) piece of linen cloth. Eight fields are to be left open on the four sides of this, and inside these fields lotus flowers are to be drawn; further--fire-spewing mountains are to be drawn on all four sides around these flowers on an edge four fingers wide; then again on an edge four fingers wide a frame consisting entirely of dorjes is to be drawn. A half moon and a dorje are to be drawn in each of the four corners of the cloth. The p'as-pun spread this picture out on the floor of the cremating furnace.

On the day on which the corpse is carried out, one man from each house, in a small village, goes to meet the others in one place; in larger localities like Leh, the neighbors along the street come together, and according to the custom of the so-called "intimate meeting" each brings a jug of beer and a dish of flour with him. The closer relatives each come with a large loaf of bread, as well as with money (literally, "copper coins") for each of those who take part and the "wailers," and all gather in the house of mourning. On the day on which the corpse is carried out of the house, the neighbors along the street, the friends, and companions receive a donation of rice, tea, and beer, which is called the "friends' tribute."

/229/ When the lamas have finished the so-called "Great Litany," the corpse is carried out of the house at the time that has been designated by the soothsayer. In Upper and Lower Ladakh the women of the circle of relatives (of the dead person) circle three times around the corpse, as soon as the corpse-bearer has come out of the household temple with the corpse (and has set it down) (50).

50. The corpse remains tied in a squatting position the whole time.

In Central Ladakh (the region around Leh), however, the women do not do this. In Leh, the corpse-bearer first of all carries the corpse outside the household temple in front of the house door. Then the [783] corpse is placed in a sedan-chair (with carrying rods) and is carried in this by the p'as-pun, neighbors, and others (51) to the cremating

51. These others take upon themselves the odium of becoming impure in exchange for payment.

impure in exchange for payment. 000

furnace. In some villages the corpse is also carried in the following manner: it is attached to a rod and this rod is again attached to the back of the two carriers. 764

When the corpse is carried out of the house (and buried), the lamas wear the required ornaments (with the crown made of papier-mache (dbaṅ-ĉas)and the implements used for the exorcism of the spirits), and amidst the blowing of the the large trumpets they go to the place of cremation. Neighbors and villagers who have gathered around, carry wood, glowing charcoal, and implements for the cremation of the corpse, as well as two food and drink offerings, and also the skulls of two sheeps. As they march along, they constantly mumble to themselves: "Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum!" The close relatives take off their caps and conceal them; the women go dressed without any shawls (52). Each of them carries a burning stalk of frankincense, and

52. Which under ordinary circumstances is considered unbecoming.

so they walk along behind the corpse. In Sangskar two men march in front of the corpse carrying a strip of white cloth to a length of from one to two dompa (about three meters) stretched out between them, in order to show the dead person the "White Path" (to Paradise). In Central Ladakh (the environs of Leh) this is not done (53).

53. In Central Tibet a ceremonious farewell is paid to the dead person, before the corpse is carried to the place of cremation. After the most delectable dishes, including also meat and drinks of all kinds, have been placed before him, a lama hands a greeting ribbon to the dead person and addresses him as follows: "You, Tsering! You have now received all these good dishes and drinks from your relatives. Enjoy the essence of these to the full, since you will not have any further opportunity to do so later! You must understand that you have died, and that your spirit must leave this place, and that it may not return and disturb or harm the relatives. Remember carefully the name of the lama who takes care of your soul, his name is Chospell. With his assistance, walk the right, the White Path (to Paradise)! Come, follow me!" With this, the

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lama goes ahead of the corpse-bearer carrying in his left hand the trumpet made of the bones of human legs, and in his right hand the little hand drum, as well as one end of the long, broad, white ribbon, the other end of which is tied around one arm of the dead man. In this way, the lama "leads" the dead man to the place of cremation amidst the blowing of the bone trumpet, the beating of the drum, and the reciting of a mass. --See Waddell, Lamaism!

As soon as the corpse has been set down inside of the cremating furnace, the lamas pray the "Great Litany" (p'yag-ĉen gsol adebs). In this litany, the "Great Merciful One" (Avalokitesvara) is called upon and asked to intercede on behalf of the deceased with the god of death and of hell, so that the latter may spare the dead person from the punishments of hell and so that the Great Merciful One may be able to lead the departed into the paradise of heavenly joys. The /230/ closer and more distant relatives circle around the cremating furnace three times, carrying burning stalks of incense in their hands, and three times they fall down on their faces in adoration.

Then the relatives go home. The people along the street and other villagers (who have helped) buy beer with the two to three rupees which they received from the "gift offerer," and then go with this "meeting beer" (ap'rad- lugskyi ĉaŋ) to an open place where they drink it. This is also called the "street beer-drinking."

After the praying of the "Great Litany" is ended, the lamas set about the cremating of the corpse. When (in the prayer) they come to the place which concerns the lighting of the cremating fire, a sacrificial servant takes the torch from one of the p'as-pun and gives it to the abbot. The latter pronounces a formula of purification over the fire, and gives the torch back to the sacrificial servant. The latter then ignites the pile of wood under the corpse (54).

54. The cylindrical furnace of cremation is built of bricks, and has openings at the bottom through which the fire is lit. On top, the oven is entirely open. These furnaces are situated outside the village, mostly in groups, since each of the clans (p'as-punships) has its own furnace. In the rite (purification of the fire), Iranian influences seem to make themselves felt.

Once the corpse is burnt, the lamas put the remains of the

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bones that have not been consumed by the flames, which are called "flowers" (me-tog), inside a sack that they give to one of the p'as-pun to carry. Thereupon, amidst the blowing of the great trumpets, they return to the house of the "gift offerer."

The inhabitants of the house receive the lamas with a donation of money (p'ogs), with beer and jugs, two large dumplings which are called tsogs ak'or, two (roasted) sheep's heads, of which one is designated for the lamas, and the other for the p'as-pun. The lamas of the strict sect of the Geldanpa (who observe the interdicts regarding the eating of flesh), give their share to the beggars. Even ordinary people, laymen, often give their share to the beggars, "for the sake of blessing." As soon as the lamas have entered the house, rice and tea are placed before them. Thereupon the clothes of the deceased that are still there--insofar as they are to be given to the lamas--the dead man's household implements, his table, his blankets, his ornaments, and the like are placed in a heap inside the household temple for the lamas. The abbot says a formula of blessing over these things for the benefit of the deceased (so that these gifts will be accounted as a meritorious service by him). Then the lamas immediately and on the spot sell the dead man's bequest to the buyers (who have rushed to the spot) and distribute the profits in equal parts among themselves, return to their cells, and with this the funeral rites (as a rule) come to an end. If the /231/ corpse is not yet fully burned, the p'as-pun remain seated in front of the cremating furnace until this has happened. There they also consume the food that has been given them by the "gift offerer," and drink the tea and the beer that have been donated by him.

The lamas of the Drugpa sect (abrug-pa) (55), who honor the

55. A subordinate sect of the reformed Kargyupa sect.

Dhyanibuddha Dorje Chang (rdo-rje aĉaṅ) and Mit'rugpa (mi-ak'rug-pa) (56) as their tutelary deities, perform the following prayers for a

56. The names of two (fictitious) Buddhas.

departed person: 1. Of the pious change (ĉos-spyod); 2. Of the good change (bźaṅ-spyod); 3. All secrets (gsaṅ-kun); 4. Paradise (bde-ba-can); 5. True joy (mṅon-par dga-ba); 6. The beginning of the change (spyod-ajug); 7. The long litany (smon-lam riṅ-mo); 8. The

764 simultaneously-born (lhan-skyes) (57); 9. The door of the works

57. It is supposed that together with the human being there is always born simulataneously a demon which dwells within him and which causes him harm.

(las-sgo) (58); 10. Mi-k'rug-pa (see note 56); 11. The way of sal-

58. The door opened by the good works (las) leads to paradise.

vation (t'ar-lam); 12. Of peace and passion (źi-k'ro); 13. The tearing-out out of the puddle of hell (na-rag don sprug).

Now, if the "gift offerer" is poor, not all of these prayers are recited, but only the following three: the "Mi-k'rug-pa," "Of peace and passion," and "The door of the works." On this occasion, as with the Geldanpa sect, the four parts of the Wang (dbaṅ) ceremony is performed, and at the burning of the paper mask the above-named prayers are also recited. The rite of the burning of the mask, as well as the recital of the prayers "Of the Dirt of Sins," are performed according to the book, "door of the works." When the corpse is being carried out of the house, the Drugpa lamas walk from the household temple to the cremating furnace amid constant reciting of the exorcising texts (59) from the Mikrugpa (book). The Drugpa lamas also observe

59. Prayers, magical texts, and exorcising formulas alternate with each other in these books of Tantra literature.

the rite of the t'ab-t'ig (furnace picture) of the magical square, and accordingly also carry out the cremation of the corpses.

The Bone Ceremony

765 Four days after the corpse has been carried out of the house, the second of the four parts (of the funeral ceremony) is held. On this occasion the lamas perform the so-called bone ceremony. If, for instance, the corpse has been carried out on the second day of the month /232/, the lamas put white paint (clay or marl) which has been dissolved in water, inside a vessel, and on the sixth day at the crack of dawn some p'as-pun go out to the place of cremation with an offering lamp and with a horse which they have bridled elaborately.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

child, but the wife of the family objected strongly, claiming both brothers as husbands, and refusing to admit another woman into the household, and she eventually prevailed. In Spiti polyandry is not recognized, as only the elder brother marries and the younger ones become monks; but there is not the least aversion to the idea of two brothers cohabiting with the same woman, and it often happens in an unrecognized way, particularly among the landless classes, who send no sons into the monasteries.

In Spiti when the bridegroom's party goes to bring the bride from her father's house, they are met by a party of the bride's friends and relations who stop the path; hereupon a sham fight of a very rough description ensues, in which the bridegroom and his friends, before they are allowed to pass, are well drubbed with good thick switches. In Spiti if a man wishes to divorce his wife without her consent, he must give her all she brought with her, and a field or two besides by way of maintenance; on the other hand, if a wife insists on leaving her husband, she cannot be prevented from so doing; but if no fault on the husband's side is proved, he can retain her jewels; he can do so also if she elopes with another man, and in addition can recover something from the co-respondent by way of fine and damages. There is a recognized ceremony of divorce which is sometimes used when both parties consent. Husband and wife hold the ends of a thread, repeating meanwhile "one father and mother gave, another father and mother took away: as it was not our fate to agree, we separate with mutual good will"; the thread is then severed by applying a light to the middle. After a divorce a woman is at liberty to marry whom she pleases; if her parents are wealthy, they celebrate the second marriage much like the first, but with less expense; if they are poor, a very slight ceremony is used.

Corpses are ordinarily burnt, and the ashes thrown into a river, or made into a figure of the deceased, and deposited in a *chorten* or pyramidical cenotaph in the case of great men. Burning is the only practice in Láhaul, but in Spiti the dead are sometimes exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods of disposing of the body are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers. In the public rooms of some of the Spiti monasteries you are shown masonry pillars which contain the bodies of deceased abbots buried there in full canonicals in a sitting posture.

Of polyandry, Mr. Anderson writes:—

"Polyandry exists more or less on all the three rivers of Láhaul; but it is dying out. This probably arises from an improvement in the condition of the people, which has also produced greater division of families. The custom of polyandry is now considered shameful and is not willingly admitted. The younger brothers will allege that the woman is their elder brother's wife, not theirs. Trade has very much increased during the last ten years; the male population has now many new ways of earning a living, and hence the circumstances that gave rise to this custom are disappearing and with them the custom itself. It is not customary to marry young, women being generally between fifteen and twenty years of age (*vide* Cunningham's Ladákh, page 289). Even the better classes have, as a rule,

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constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing no doubt very often the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud."

The Buddhism of the Panjáb Himalayas.

Prayer has been reduced to a mechanical operation, and the praying-wheel is a triumph of the Tibetan genius.* It consists of a cylinder turning on an axis and containing sacred texts and prayers, or sometimes gibberish, whose only merit is that it has a sort of rhythm. It is made of all sizes, from the pocket wheel to be turned on the hand as one walks along, to the common wheel of the village, which is turned by water, and prays for the community in general. Each revolution is equivalent to a recital of the prayer contained in the cylinder. Flags inscribed with prayers are fixed at the corners of the houses, and answer a similar purpose as they flap in the wind. Every village has its *mani* or stone dyke, sometimes nearly half a mile long, on which are flung small pieces of slate inscribed with mystic formulæ. "These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular object. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of the winter? Each goes to a *lámá* and purchases a slate which he deposits carefully on the village *mani*, and returns home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard." These *manis* must always be left on the right hand, and people will make considerable detours in order to do so. Small shrines are erected in the fields to propitiate the deities and obtain an abundant harvest. The dead are sometimes burnt and the ashes preserved, in the case of great men, in a cenotaph; but corpses are often exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers.

The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

Spiti is the only portion of British territory whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists. But though the Census figures shown in the margin would draw a line of the sharpest and most definite kind between the religions of Hinduism and Buddhism where they meet in the mountains of the Kúlu sub-division, yet the actual line of demarcation is by no means so clearly marked. On this subject Mr. Alexander Anderson, the officer in charge of Kúlu, writes:—

Tract.	Hindú.	Buddhist.	Muhammadan.	Others.
Kúlu — —	99,890	—	822	61
Láhaul — —	8,806	—	35	30
Spiti — —	1	3,300	—	1

"In Kúlu, including *mauzá* Rápi and outer and inner Seorái, the population is Hindú with scarcely an exception. In Spiti the only religion is Buddhism. In Láhaul there is a mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism. Since the last Census, Hinduism in Láhaul has advanced, and Buddhism

* The praying wheel is peculiar to Tibet, where it was generally used at least as early as 400 A. D.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

The *lámáic* system.

influence of personal sanctity. They are, with the exception of the Drukhpa sect, bound to celibacy, at least while leading a monastic life, and are collectively called *gedun*, or clergy. They consist of *lámás* or full monks (for the word means nothing more), and novices or neophytes. There are also convents for nuns, which are very numerous. The *lámás* are distinguished by rosaries of 108 beads, which they wear as necklaces. Primogeniture obtains among the landholders of Spiti, the eldest son succeeding to the land as soon as he is of full age, and the father being pensioned off. The younger sons, as they grow up, retire to the ancestral cell in the monastery, where they support themselves by such industries as can be pursued within the walls of the building, and by alms and fees, often supplemented by an allowance from the eldest son. If the latter die without leaving a son, the eldest of his surviving brothers who cares to do so abandons the monastic life, resumes the property, and becomes the husband of the widow without further ceremony.

The Tibetan *lámás* are divided into three chief sects, of which the most ancient are the Nyimapa, whose followers wear red clothes, and to which most of the *lámás* of Ladákh belong. The Drukhpa sect also wear red garments, and are ruled over by the Dharma Rája or great *lámá* of Bhutan, in which country they are most numerous. It would appear that the Spiti *lámás* belong partly and the Láhaul *lámás* almost entirely to this sect, which permits its monks to marry. The Gelukpa sect was founded about A. D. 1400 by the first great *lámá* of Gáhldán, and its followers are distinguished by yellow garments; the sect prevails chiefly in Tibet, and both the Dalai and the Tashi *lámás* belong to it.

Monasteries or *gómpás* in Láhaul and Spiti.

The largest and most noted monastery in Láhaul is that of Gúrú Ghantál which stands on a mountain above the point of confluence of the Chandra and Bhága rivers. The number of regular monks attached to it is small, and most of them belong by birth to Ladákh or other foreign countries. A tribute of the value of Rs. 30, half in cash and half in goods, is sent every year by the abbot to the abbot of the Togna monastery in Ladákh, who forwards it with other tribute on his own account to that of Kángri Donján, near the Mansarowar lake in Chinese Tibet, whence it goes in the same way to the monastery of Pangtang Dechinling in Bhután (*alias* Lo), of which the abbot bears the title of Nawang Námgiál. This dignitary seems as head of the mother monastery, to be *ex-officio* the head of the order to which all of them belong, for the other abbots were all appointed by an order given in his name, and relieved in the same way at the expiry of their term of office; the chain of affiliation by which the different monasteries were connected seems to be traceable to the history of their gradual foundation by missionaries sent out from each centre. But the fact of Ladákh having come into the dominion of a Hindú prince (the Mahárája of Kashmír) appears to have weakened the authority of the Nawang Námgiál, for of late years a mere deputy of the Ladákh abbot has acted as head of the Gúrú Ghantál monastery. All the landholders of Láhaul, excepting a few Bráhmans, pay a fee of Re. 1 or thereabouts to this monastery on the death of a member of the household.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The refectory or public kitchen is only used on the occasion of certain festivals, which sometimes last several days, during which special services are performed in the chapels; while these festivals last the monks mess together, eating and drinking their full of meat, barley, butter and tea. The main source from which the expense of these feasts is met is the *pun*, which is not divided among the monks for every-day consumption in the separate cells. To supply his private larder, each monk has, in the first place, all he gets from his family in the shape of the produce of the "*lámá's* field" or otherwise; secondly he has his share, according to his rank in the monastery, of the *buda* or funeral offerings and of the harvest alms; thirdly, anything he can acquire in the way of fees for attendance at marriages or other ceremonies or in the way of wages for work done in the summer. The funeral offerings made to the monasteries on the death of any member of a household consist of money, clothes, pots and pans, grain, butter, &c.; the harvest alms consist of grain collected by parties of five or six monks sent out on begging expeditions all over Spiti by each monastery just after the harvest. They go round from house to house in full dress, and standing in a row, chant certain verses, the burden of which is—"we are men who have given up the world, give us, in charity, the means of life; by so doing you will please God whose servants we are." The receipts are considerable, as each house gives something to every party. On the death of a *lámá*, his private property, whether kept in his cell or deposited in the house of the head of the family, goes not to the monastery, but to his family, first to the *lámás* of it, if any, and in their default, to the head or *káng chimpa*. When a *lámá* starts for Lhásá, to take his degree, his *káng chimpa* is bound to give him what he can towards the expenses of the journey, but only the better-to-do men can afford it; many who go to Lhásá get high employ under the Lhásá Government, are sent to govern monasteries, &c., and remain there for years; they return in old age to their native monastery in Spiti bringing a good deal of wealth, of which they always give some at once to their families.

Monks and friars

The monks of Pín are of the Dukhpa, and not of the Gelukpa or celibate class to which those of the other four monasteries belong; they marry in imitation of their patron saint Gúrú Rimbóchi, though in their books marriage is not approved of; this saint founded several orders, of which that to which the monks of Pín belong is the most ancient, and is called Ngyángma. The wives and families of the monks live not in the monasteries, but in small houses in the villages. Every son of a *lámá* or monk becomes a *bozan*, which is the name given to a low order of strolling monks or friars. There are nineteen families of these *bozans* in Pín *kothí*. Sometimes the younger son of a landholder becomes a *bozan* in preference to going into the monastery. These *bozans* are a very curious set of people; they get a living by wandering in small parties

in time to the measure, advancing and retreating, turning and whirling with strange studied steps and gestures. The story of the ballet is the combat of the gods with the demons. The latter had become too powerful and tyrannical over mankind, so the gods descended from heaven, took the shapes of strange beasts and in that guise fought with and destroyed them.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[P. 502] Spiti

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It must be remembered that in a land where only the eldest son marries and all the younger sons are celibate, a sonless land-owner naturally has no relations in the male line to adopt.

d.—Where there is a childless widow.

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If a man dies childless, his widow first marries his younger brother. Failing him, she may marry any man of her husband's *got*. But the land is considered her property till she has borne a son, who, on attaining his majority, steps into the *khang chhen*.

Cremation.

● 764

Coffins are not used in Spiti for want of wood. Corpses are carried in a sitting posture to the burning-ground either on a man's shoulder or in a blanket held by four men.

II.

Social Ideas.

Asceticism.

785

Hermits exist and are said to subsist on nothing but tea and one morning meal.

Excommunication.

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A man can be excommunicated for eating with a man or cohabiting with a woman of lower caste than himself. The decision is announced by public proclamation.

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The *lâmas* taking no part in this, but they turn out a *lâma* who misbehaves himself and he is never taken back in any circumstances.

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An excommunicated layman can be received back into caste after ceremonies. He has to read a book on *shaispa* or penitential offerings, burn a lamp in front of a *deota*, feast the *lâmas*, and may be ordered to make 100 or 1,000 prostrations before some *deota* in a monastery.

Leprosy.

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Leprosy is found in one village in Spiti, ascribed to the water of a spring, wherein lives a devil, Chutalwâ.

If a man passes the spring on a day when the devil happens to be present, he is liable to get leprosy.

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A leper is not allowed to marry, but if married, he is not separated from his wife. He feeds by himself in a separate room and the villagers will not eat with him.

Il: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate M.

Tibet: Disposal of the Dead. Singh.

Disposal of the Dead by Mutilation in Spiti (W. Tibet). *By Dr. Bhagwan Singh.*

133 The district called Spiti is now under British administration, and forms a part of the 149
634 Kangra District in the Punjab. On all sides it is surrounded by the snowy ranges of the inner Himalayas. The whole of this country lies on the banks of the Spiti river, which in turn is a tributary of the Sutlej. The altitude of Spiti is from 9,000 feet to 14,000 feet above sea level.

About a century ago Spiti was a part of Central Tibet, since when it was annexed by the then
799 Raja of Kashmir, and subsequently taken over by the British Government. The inhabitants follow
144 the Buddhist faith as practised in Tibet, and are of Mongolian origin, with an admixture of Aryan
177 blood. Practically all their customs are derived from the usages of pure Tibetans.

764 I propose in this article to give an account of one special mode of disposing of the dead—disposal by mutilation. As has been already stated by the Rev. Walter Asboe, in his account of the disposal of the dead in Tibet, there are four methods employed when disposing of the dead. They are (1) Mutilation of the corpse by chopping it in pieces; (2) Cremation on a funeral pyre; (3) Burial in the earth; and (4) Throwing the corpse into the water.

766 I was informed that whilst the corpses of laymen may be disposed of in any of the four ways already mentioned, ecclesiastics are always cremated on a funeral oven made of stone or earth in the form of a square. This applies especially to Spiti, for in other parts of Tibet both clergy and laymen alike are cremated after death on a funeral pyre of logs.

764 The most propitious time for mutilating corpses is when the harvesting and winnowing operations
793 are performed, whilst at other seasons of the year the mode of disposal is determined by the lamas (priests) who consult their religious books for the most auspicious method.

The site chosen for the mutilation ceremony is usually a good distance from the village. Here again the lamas are consulted as to the most propitious position—whether it should be the north, south, east, or west of the village.

000 During the month of August, 1932, I went on a medical tour to Spiti, and I was fortunate in visiting a village where the mutilation ceremony was performed.

On August 26th I reached a village called Manay, situated on the right bank of the Spiti River. On arrival there about midday, I was informed that a young man suffering from pains in the abdomen had died early that morning.

On inquiry, the villagers told me that the day before my arrival the deceased went with some people from the same village to repair a road running between Pow and Manay. Whilst lifting a boulder which had obstructed the road, he felt slight pains in his belly, causing him to abandon his work and proceed home. These pains increased in severity, followed by vomiting and acute constipation. The pains were spasmodic, and localized in the region of the navel, and he was unable to lie on his back, but remained in a sitting posture until his death.

1/1 [See source # 13 in AJ1 Tibet AJ1 -- Analy.]

Ill: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

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FIG. 1. SAWING OFF THE LEG.

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FIG. 2. OPENING THE ABDOMEN, DECAPITATED HEAD ON RIGHT.

MUTILATION CEREMONY IN SPITI, WEST TIBET.

Photographs by Dr. Bhagwan Singh.

[Facing p 141]

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Spiti

A local doctor (*Amchi*) was called in to attend the sick man, who was given certain purgatives which were vomited as soon as they were administered. The duration of the deceased's illness was only one day.

Having heard that the body was to be disposed of by mutilation, my curiosity was aroused, and I determined to witness the ceremony first-hand. To achieve this end I was obliged to simulate great interest in the local religion, and professed myself an ardent Buddhist. To my surprise I received consent to follow the funeral cortège, and to be present at the actual ceremony of mutilation.

The place where the mutilation ceremony was performed was on a small hillock by the side of the Spiti river, about a mile and a half from the village. Eight men carried the dead man on an improvised bier made of four rough pieces of wood crossed in such a way as to form a square shaped seat. Immediately after death the deceased's neck was broken by one of his relations. The lower part of his right leg having been flexed at the knee joint and placed over the middle third of the left thigh, so that the calf muscle was clearly in evidence, a yak hair rope was passed in a figure of eight round the leg, thigh, and neck, bringing the head down very close to the knee. The corpse thus trussed was placed on the bier, with two relatives leading the funeral procession. Behind the eight bearers of the corpse came some villagers amongst whom were two men, one carrying a log of wood, and the other an axe and hunting knife.

FIG. 3. CARRYING THE DEAD MAN FOR MUTILATION.

About two furlongs from the village the procession reached a prayer wall. At this point the two men leading the procession returned to their own village bearing flags and a banner with a goddess painted upon it.

On arrival at the site of the mutilation ceremony, the body was taken out of the bier, and the clothes and funeral ornaments stripped from the dead man so as to expose him naked. Two lamas (priests) then took up a position about thirty feet from the corpse, and faced eastwards, whilst another lama squatted on the ground to the south of the site of mutilation. These men held ritualistic instruments in their hands, and muttered prayers.

In the meantime, the executioner on whom the main business of mutilation devolved, placing himself in front of the corpse drew it over to a flat stone just visible above the ground. Then, after cutting the rope which secured the deceased lest he should rise and do some harm, he laid the dead body on the stone with its knees in a flexed position. This done, he placed the log of wood under the cervical region, cutting with his hunting knife the skin, fasciæ, muscles, and other soft structures of the neck. Then taking the axe from his girdle, he severed the head from the body, and placed it close by. He now proceeded to open up the abdomen. First, he caught the abdominal wall in the epigastric region with his left hand, and with his right he introduced his knife at the tip of the xiphoid and cut the abdominal wall horizontally, and the flap thus made was turned downwards over the pubic region.

On opening the abdomen fæculent fluid gushed out. The small and large intestines were semi-distended and bulging. It being of great importance to ascertain the disease which caused the deceased's death, the mutilator used a small piece of stick to elevate and examine the intestines. His verdict was that the man had died from a fatal bilious attack, though so far as I could see the liver was quite normal.

Standing close to the body I could see that the intestines were distended, and part of the small intestine was chocolate colour (gangrenous). Besides this it had the appearance of having been ruptured and perforated, which fact rather confirms my belief that the extremely violent aperients administered to the man during his brief illness produced these disastrous results.

11: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

764 767 [718] The operation of opening the abdomen completed, the executioner disarticulated the left ileo-femoral joint by first cutting the soft structures, fasciæ, and tendons around it, though there appeared to be little system in his procedure. Huge pieces of flesh were sliced from the thigh and buttock down to the knee, these being thrown on to a large flat stone nearby. When the joints at the hip and knee were cleared of flesh, the tendons and fasciæ were severed, and the femoral bone was disarticulated and laid on one side. (This bone was specially kept to convert into a lama's human thigh bone trumpet.) That part of the leg below the knee, he chopped with an axe into big chunks, throwing these on the slab of stone also. Followed the hacking off of the right arm near the insertion of the deltoid muscle, after which the whole of that limb was chopped in lumps and likewise placed with the other pieces of flesh. The next step was to extract the contents of the abdomen, i.e., intestines, liver, spleen, and stomach, placing these on the already large pile of flesh, et ceteras. The pleural cavity was then opened by cutting and hacking the ribs with his axe, and the lungs and heart were severed from their adhesions with his hunting knife, these organs being similarly thrown on the stone nearby.

The right leg was then treated similarly to the left; after which the left arm was mutilated and disposed of. This done, the spinal column was hacked in pieces, the ileum and sacrum being also treated similarly.

I noticed that the mutilator did not dissect and mutilate the head which he had chopped off in the early stages of the ceremony, but threw it down the bank of the river.

826 787 It is commonly believed that so long as the head lies in close proximity to the rest of the mutilated parts of the corpse, carrion birds and beasts of prey will not approach. Towards sunset, the time at which the mutilation ceremony took place, I saw no birds about, and this was thought by the relatives to be an ill omen. Further, if they should not appear within one or two days, the deceased is deemed to have been very wicked during his life-time.

764 782 The current theory to justify the disposal of a corpse by mutilation, is that thereby the dead cannot rise again. Others, however, affirm that human flesh is a special delicacy which the gods enjoy.

767 In Spiti, the office of mutilator of corpses is not hereditary, nor does it belong to a professional class of executioners, the members of which are not allowed near the precincts of a temple, as is the usage in Central Tibet. The corpse mutilator is usually a relative of the deceased.

When this task is completed, he returns to the deceased's house, outside of which is placed a vessel of warm water so that he can bathe himself and change his clothes. In return for his services, he is well fed and paid by the family to which the deceased belonged. BHAGWAN SINGH.

346 hewn rock and adorned at the top with gold or copper. Sometimes they are merely a memorial in honor of a person of distinction. More often than not they are sepulchers.

• 764 346 [775] I was told that sometimes the body of the deceased is placed on the ground and a *chhorten* erected over it. That is not customary, for the lamas say that the soul cannot leave the body until the body is destroyed. Cremation is preferred. The ashes are made into an image of the deceased and placed in a *chhorten.* But in Ladakh fuel is scarce. So the bodies are laid out in a special funeral service, and the lamas call the vultures. When the vultures have picked the bones clean, the bones are crushed, sometimes mixed with corn, and fed to the vultures. And the attending lamas stand as witnesses to this celestial funeral, chanting all the while, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

The *chhorten* usually contains some of the ashes or bones of the deceased or cakes made from the ashes of a holy man. They usually guard the entrance of a village or a monastery or an estate. When the departed one is a man of wealth, there will be placed in the *chhorten* an urn that contains (1) wheat, barley, rice, and peas; (2) pearls, coral beads, turquoises; (3) gold, silver, copper, iron; (4) rolls of prayers and holy writings; (5) pieces of juniper and sandalwood—red and white.

788 And when travelers reach the *chhorten,* they keep it on their right, chanting as they go, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

[792] Lamas often have special services in which they walk around *mani* walls and *chhortens.* They walk in single file, with flutes and trumpets blowing. They always walk clockwise around *mani* walls and *chhortens,* and as they walk they chant in unison, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

The prayer wheel is a small cylinder on a stick that is whirled with a twist of the wrist. It has prayers inside, prayers written on cloth or paper. And outside and inside are printed the words, *Om Mani Padme Hoom.* The wheel must always be turned clockwise. I saw my first prayer wheel just over Baralacha Pass as we

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. ..ibetans AJ4

The Doctor Memsahib once had 757
the privilege of coming upon a family unawares just at dawn in the middle of winter. She had been called out to a case in a village, nine miles from Leh, the last two miles of which had to be done in the dark, that is by snow and starlight, and she and her Ladaki nurse were glad to walk over the frozen snow a little to keep their feet from freezing. Already icicles stretched from upper to lower eye-lashes, and whiskers, formed by the frozen moisture of their breath, adorned their mouths. The patient's friends had sent for the Doctor three days too late ; already two small lives were extinct, and the last dim hope of the mother lay in a surgical interference. An operation was performed, after sterilizing instruments in a cooking pot by the light of a fire of sticks on the mud floor, the nurse giving chloroform for the first time. But it was too late and, at about two a.m., the patient died. We sat on till the first dim light appeared, for out-of-doors we feared wolves in the dark, and a strange experience it was. On one side of the 593
room the corpse covered with sacking and filthy sheepskin, 764
near the fire on the floor quietly sobbing, was the unkempt, shaggy, ragged husband, who, for all his uncouth appearance, had exhibited the most extraordinary tenderness and patience with his suffering wife ; near the stove his mother-in-law, a wrinkled old hag, who wailed intermittently. On the further side of the stove hens nestled. In the next cold fireless room two children were sleeping, and we were told that downstairs a blind old grandfather had been put in the straw cellar (again the " wrong way round " compared with our hayloft in the West) to keep warm in the horses' fodder. The Ladaki nurse spread her coat, lined with sheepskin in the corner by the stove for her Doctor, and fetched a thick horse-cover for herself. The fire of manure in the stove had gone out, and the two mourners occasionally added sticks to the one on the floor, but the room was bone cold. The family were so poor 511
that they had not offered us even a warm drink during the long, 574
bitter night, though, when they thought we were drowsing,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W . ibetans AJ4

pieces of silver and gold, and then a local *Skushog* or great lama comes to dedicate it. The mouth of the vessel is closed and the wall built up over it, then, on top of this is placed another clay vessel whose offerings are renewed annually. On the third day of the new year the lamas are called in, and fresh offerings of rice, wheat and barley are dedicated, while the altar is decked with flags, branches of the pencil cedar, arrows, and horns of wild sheep and goats. Members of the brotherhood have certain duties to perform in connection with the great events of life. After death only a *paspun* may touch the corpse, and in marriages it must be a *paspun* who carries all the bride's belongings and dowry to her new home. Thus the countryside is linked up together in the bonds of a brotherhood based on religion.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the few countries remaining where it still obtains. Various economical reasons have been urged for this unusual procedure. The foremost is that it arose in order to keep down the population in a land where sustenance of the body is so hardly won from the dry soil, and the difficulty of transport necessitates any small community being self-contained. A second is that where the nomadic life prevailed, it was inconvenient to trail many women and children around. But a Ladaki himself will tell the questioner that the custom is of royal institution, and is for the stabilizing of property. If each of several sons possessed wife and family, how could they all be supported on one landhold? Certainly the component parts, after dividing into three or more shares, would not be sufficient for any one family. This, therefore, is a different way of stating the first reason alleged, and the present method of tenure is much more economical. The wife is brought for the elder son, and, as a matter of fact, only one more brother is likely to share the lady's favours. The third son is probably given to the Church, and any more pass into other families as *makpas*. The *makpa* leaves his father's home and gods, as we have seen, adopts those of the heiress to whom he is wedded, and, when either of his parents dies, he is not allowed even to touch the corpse, though he may officiate fully in the case of the dead bodies of his bride's parents. As our Buddhist serving-man put it: "My daughter is of no profit to my corpse, save to say 'Father, Father!' and weep, and throw a little barley behind me, but she must not touch me." So does the marriage tie really become firmer than the relation between parents and offspring. In upper Ladak, therefore, more than two brothers rarely share one wife, as it is impossible, practically, for more than that number to avoid quarrelling. If the eldest son approves of this second bridegroom, and thinks that they will be able to share their wife peaceably, the younger man is included in the wedding ceremony. The white head-dress is given to him also by the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

595 chief bridegroom, and the marriage-tie is as binding on him as on his elder brother. In lower Ladak, however, where more of the men-folk are away from home trading or travelling, the link is said to be bearable between as many as five brothers.
4r3 4r8 The house and the land and all the children belong to the eldest brother, whether the latter are his begetting or his brothers', and the younger inherits all if the former predeceases him. Hence the word for uncle is always *Aba Chungun*, "little father."
601

763 At length must come the time when the Ladaki's "silver cord is loosened," and his "golden bowl broken." He does not, however, believe that his spirit returns to God who gave it, but that it seeks a new habitation in one of the six existences,
● 764 decided by the deeds done in the life just ended. Immediately the soul has set forth on this quest, the lama is hurriedly fetched to read from the holy books and pronounce various charms.
764 The nearest relative must now break the corpse's neck, thus
614 setting free its spirit, and the body is then rolled up and tied into a ball as far as this is possible. It is then carried by one of the *paspun* into the family temple, or private chapel, of the house. Nobody but a *paspun* is ever allowed to touch the corpse, and if no male one exists, a woman has to perform this duty. A candle is now lit, and food and drink provided for the soul, which would suffer much during its search for a fresh tabernacle were it not alleviated by the sustenance
[791] thus prepared. This is done for about one month. An appeal is then made to the *Onpo*, whose researches settle the date and even the time when cremation may be performed. In the meantime mourners attend the house, who join the family and their friends in bewailing the deceased with loud tones, and help them to consume much butter-tea and flour. Every newcomer provokes a fresh outburst of expression of sorrow. The nearest female relation puts on her oldest clothes, and shows her bereavement by looking as dishevelled and dirty as possible.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The date of the funeral has arrived, and the brother of the departed must carry his corpse from the temple into the street. If there is no brother, his wife, assisted by a *paspun*, does this duty. Here the body is placed into a kind of box, which any man may now carry on his back to the burning-ghats out in the desert. The procession is formed by relatives, friends and lamas. The body is placed into an oven made of mud-bricks, consisting merely of four walls with an opening at the bottom into which the firewood is placed. The corpse is consumed to the reading of holy books, clashing of cymbals, and blowing of the flageolet, while butter, rice, water and barley are thrown into the consuming fire to provide sustenance for the soul of the departed. The cortège then returns home, where the dead man's effects are given to the priests to reward them for their services. In the case of a woman, however, her ornaments go to her eldest daughter, if she has one; if not, the lamas may auction them and retain the money. Next morning a relative goes to inspect the ashes. If the footprints of a dog can be discerned in these, the deceased's soul will speedily be re-incarnated. Some of these ashes are then made into a small idol of Buddha or a tiny *Chorten* by mixing with clay, and these are placed inside some large *Chorten*. Should the dead man belong to some opulent family, his relatives, having ascertained what would be a propitious holy banner, will have one prepared and hung up in the family temple.

In Tibet proper the general method of disposing of the dead is to expose the body, which has first been dismembered, to the vultures, or throw it to the fishes, or bury it. Cremation is reserved for priests or those of high rank. Here, in Lesser Tibet, however, most corpses are burnt. But even in their burial rites, these folk are the "wrong way round," for when cremation is most expedient, they bury. Has a man or woman died of infectious disease, his body is committed to the ground, to be disinterred and cremated about a year later.

782 826 that such bodily remains as those just mentioned, and also splinters of bones and samples of soil from famous places, are highly valued among the Tibetans. They constitute the contents of talismans, little pouches called srun-ba, "protectors," worn around the neck. The fact that among the masses of the people the belief in the mysterious power of certain parts of the body is still alive, is indicated by an observation which the missionary Heyde made. During [764] the cremation of a corpse he saw a man suddenly leap from the [266] crowd of spectators toward the dead body, rip out one of its eyes, and immediately consume it. Apparently he hoped in this manner to appropriate to himself some of the keen eyesight of the deceased person.

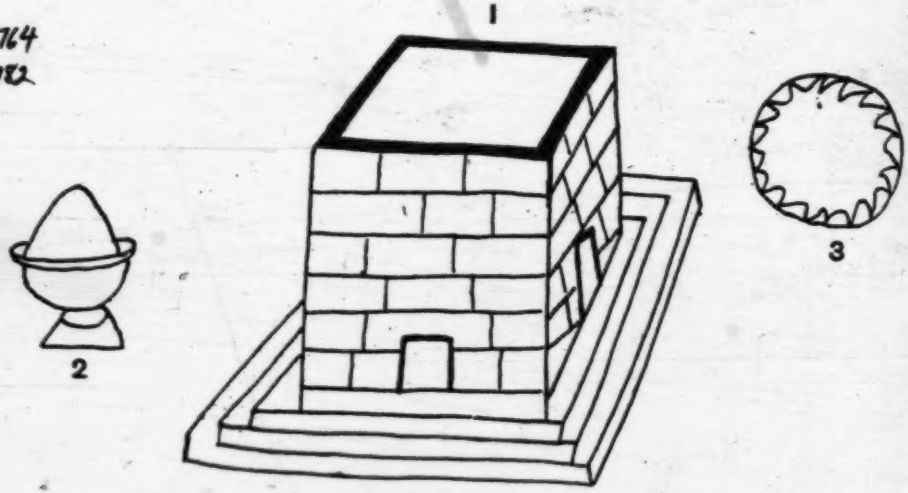
782 We now raise the question as to what is the situation with respect to human sacrifices among the Tibetans. There cannot be any doubt that among the bordering peoples in the western Himalayas, human sacrifices were the order of the day. There the Siva cult has its original home. From Siva and Kali the natives sought the blessings of fertility for their families and their fields, and they believed that it was necessary to reciprocate such divine gifts by means of sacrifices. Aside from the fruits of the field and the livestock, they sacrificed their own children to these gruesome divinities. Such human sacrifices were also customary in the valleys of Lahoul and Kunawar, which have since become Tibetan, and I have collected the reports of the inhabitants of Lahoul concerning this prac- [113] tice. See my hectographed article, "The Mythological and Historical Traditions of the Lahoul People" (Die mythologischen und geschichtlichen Uberlieferungen der Lahouler). In the vicinity of [533] Poo (sPu) in Kunawar I discovered a fairly large document with a collection of Tibetan songs. Concerning these songs it was stated that they were sung, several generations ago, during the ceremonies of human sacrifice. Although I studied these songs for an extended period, I was unable to find any sort of allusion to such sacrifices anywhere (1). As the stories collected in Lahoul report, the human

1. As the Reverend Schnabel writes to me from sPu, the following verse is said in sPu with reference to the human sacrifices: /Tara/ is speaking:

First, when I came hither from India,
I received /each year/ a three-year-old cow and an eight-year-old child.

According to this it certainly looks as though this hideous practice was first brought from India to the border Tibetans.

796 782 On the 1st day of the 11th month, each household makes a dough effigy of an ibex (*Skyin*), a cake of unleavened bread with its edges turned up and inwards (*Pe-Rak*), parched barley flour placed in a wooden flour bowl (*Pe-Pud*) is prepared. A vessel of beer (*Nang-mChod*) and one of water (*Chu-Pud*) are also placed alongside of all these offerings, the whole being laid on a shelf in the apartment for three days.



1. *Dur-Kung*. An earthen cremating oven set up on a plinth of earth. There is an aperture on each of the four sides to allow of ventilation, and ensuring a draught so as to expedite the burning of the corpse which is placed in it in a doubled up posture. The whole is made of dried mud bricks. 2. *Pe-Pud*. An offering of flour. 3. *Pe-Rak*. A cake of unleavened bread with edges turned inwards.

796 574 685 Friends, relations, and neighbours now call on each other carrying with them small vessels of beer and 5, 7, or 9 breads (the taking of six breads being contra-indicated). The children of the village in the meantime make a house to house collection of meat, bread, and other eatables. Whilst the housewife is engaged in producing the food thus claimed, a diversion is afforded when the children surreptitiously steal the *Skyin*, *Pe-Rak*, *Pe-Pud*, *Nang-mChod*, and the *Chu-Pud*, though receiving their ration of food from the incautious housewife.

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

F

796 On the 10th day of the 7th month the festival of *Shrub*
252 *Hla* (god of the ears of corn) is held. This ceremony institutes the reaping of the harvest. No one may put his hand to a sickle until this function is celebrated. Barley and wheat are boiled until the grain is soft, when it is spread out to dry. It is then roasted, milled into flour, and finally kneaded into dough balls. The first ears of corn and the first fruits of the pea and buckwheat crop are next mixed into the dough balls, each family taking this to its family cremating[6] oven. Sheaves of grain are then fixed to the beams of the household temple, and also on cairns (*Hla-Tl*) in the neighbourhood.

796 On the completion of a feast in celebration of the in-
783 gathering of the crops, three men proceed to the nearest brook, taking a live sheep with them. There they have to bathe their bodies, and also dip the sheep in the water by way of purifying themselves and the animal. It is believed that once the sheep has been thus cleansed, it does not attempt to wander or escape. Leading the sheep, the trio makes for the local cairn (*Hla-To*) to which sheaves of corn, coloured rags, willow branches, and the tail of a yak are attached. Lots are now drawn amongst the three men to ascertain who must carry out the ceremony of sacrificing the sheep to the god.

796 The man thus chosen then proceeds to make a large incision in the breast of the sheep and tearing out its heart

[6] *Cremating Oven*

● 764 This oven is made from sun-dried mud bricks. Its dimensions are: 3 feet square and 4 feet high. On each of the sides is a small aperture about a foot from the bottom of the oven as vent holes. The corpse's back is broken immediately after death and the knees are drawn up to the head and tied securely. It is then carried on a man's back to the oven in which it is placed resting on stones placed at the base of it to serve as a grid. The more opulent prepare a box in which they place the corpse.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

being used to those in Lahul. For this reason, it is unnecessary for me to repeat what I have already written in the passage about this in my description of Lahul, and the reader is referred to it (see p. 326-7). Two new terms, however, did come to light: *oma chik-pa* (*aO-ma gChig-pa*) for a milk brother or sister, and *chos-pün* (*Ch'hos sPun*) for brothers in a religious order. The kinship system is descriptive, and is only used in a classificatory manner when addressing strangers (*meme* for old men and lamas assimilated to grandfathers, *ama* for strange women of the age of one's mother, etc.).

The patrilineal clans, each descendant from a common ancestor, which I encountered in Lahul under the name of *rü* (*Rus*), are called *P'haspun* (*P'ha-sPun* or *P'has-sPun*) in Ladak. In accordance with H. A. Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (1949), p. 330, this name is given the English meaning of "several neighbours or inhabitants of a village that have a common *Lha* (or god) and thus have become *rus-pa cig-cig*, members of the same family; this common tie entails on them the duty whenever a death takes place, of caring for the cremation of the dead body".

From Nono Tse-P'hün, however, I learned that a *p'haspun* was primarily the group formed by all the male descendants of one paternal ancestor, and only secondarily really, by corruption, the group consisting of all those males who worship the same *Lha* or who are associated for burial purposes. Later, in 1953, when we met again, this time in Kalimpong, at the other end of India, he added something to the definition he had given me fifteen years earlier. He said that a *p'haspun* was a group consisting of men associated for purposes of financial support in difficult times.

It appears, thus, that in Ladak, although the *p'haspuns* are, first and foremost, patrilineal lineages or clans whose ancestry is traceable to a single common progenitor and who worship a common *Lha* or god, they are also groups of kinfolk with a certain definite obligation of the members towards one another, namely that of caring for the cremation of the dead body when a death occurs within the group, and with the rather more ill-defined duty of helping each other financially in periods of economic distress.

It is as though the Tibetan archaic, patrilineal, corporate group of the lineage had overflowed its ancient, strictly parental nature in Ladak, and with time had assumed additional social significance, thus playing an important role in the economic life of a polyandrous people. I say this because we saw in Lahul – and, as we shall see from the material

Disposal of the Dead in Tibet. *By Rev. Walter Ashoe, Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.*

T 764 792 [767]

81 Tibetans dispose of their dead in three ways. In order of precedence they are: 1. Chopping the body in pieces and scattering them in all directions; 2. Cremation on a funeral pyre; 3. Burying or throwing the corpse into the water.

A lama (Buddhist priest) explained to me that the first method was specially pleasing to the gods, as they relished the flavour of human flesh.

In Central Tibet there are certain people specially deputed to hack the body in pieces. Being ceremonially unclean they are never allowed within the precincts of a temple.

Burning the corpse on a funeral pyre is also considered a favourable mode of disposing of the dead, as the gods enjoy the odour arising from the body thus cremated.

T 766 [793]

The most abhorrent method of disposing of the dead, however, is held to be that of burying or casting into a river. This occurs when the deceased is of a low caste, destitute, or one who has died from a malignant or specially infectious disease.

It falls, however, to the lot of the officiating lama to decide what method should be adopted for the disposal of the deceased.

T [775]

A not uncommon practice in disposing of very young children who die, as the Tibetans say, "before they have got their first teeth," is to secrete their bodies in the walls of their houses, or in a cleft of a rock. This is done in the hope that the soul of the deceased child will re-enter its mother's womb, and that its ghost will protect the inmates of the house from further molestation by evil spirits.

WT 764 ●

In Western Tibet the usual method of disposing of the deceased is by cremation.

T 763 775 793

Immediately a man dies, messengers are dispatched to call the officiating priest. No time is lost in summoning this ecclesiastic, hence the current proverb, "In securing the services of a lama, a galloping horse could not overtake him." The relations of the deceased are also hurriedly called to the house of mourning.

Waddell in his "Buddhism of Tibet,"[1] has described in detail the ceremony of extracting the soul of the dead, and his account of it is typical of the practice throughout Tibet.

No one may on any account disturb the corpse until the soul-extracting lama has entered the death chamber, and in profound meditation ascertained the future destiny of the soul.

The reason for this precaution is that any movement of the deceased may cause the soul to be ejected prematurely, and thus be exposed to the caprice of wandering demons.

It is thought that if the soul escapes through an invisible aperture in the head, from the eyes, nose, ears, or mouth, it is a favourable omen, whilst it is unfavourable if it should find vent through any other orifice of the body.

The lama having seated himself in front of the corpse, proceeds to draw up a death horoscope of the deceased; and, warning the spirit of the dangers which beset it on its course to the Western paradise, he plucks out a hair from the crown of the head, and it is supposed that a minute perforation is made, thereby liberating the spirit. This ceremony usually lasts about half an hour to an hour.

The lama next gives instructions as to the propitious moment for the transference of the corpse to the site of cremation. The body is burnt from one to three days after death.

[1] [See source #10 in AJ1 Tibet AJ2 -- Analyst]

13: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1932 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
W. Tibetans AJ4

T 764 WT 764 T 764 793

In the meanwhile a few men from the village mount guard on the corpse lest it should be disturbed in any way. They make doubly sure of this by tying it in a sitting posture with a white scarf already blessed by the clergy.

In Ladakh it is customary to break the back of the corpse, this office being performed by the nearest relatives.

During the lying-in-state period, food and beer are placed before the deceased, and much feasting goes on in which both laity and clergy participate. As this orgy of feasting proceeds, the clergy are busily employed saying masses for the departed. Waddell very properly says that this ceremony is suggestive of an Irish Wake.

At the appointed time the body is carried on a litter or chair to the cremating ground to the accompaniment of much drumming.

One frequently sees the curious spectacle of a lama leading the corpse by a white scarf to guide it to the Western paradise. A deceased lama, however, does not require this assistance as he is supposed to be familiar with the path to be traversed after death.

T 764 WT 764

On arrival at the funeral pyre, the body, covered with a white cloth, is laid upon the logs (and in Ladakh inside a specially constructed earthen oven), the officiating lama feeding the flames with rancid butter or mustard oil applied on a long-handled temple ladle.

When the body is burnt, the ashes are collected and an effigy of the deceased is made and suitably adorned with clothes and ornaments. It is then mounted on a pony and conveyed to the confluence of two rivers where the ashes are thrown into the water. It is thought that the water will carry them to the sacred river of the Ganges.

In other parts of the country the ashes of the deceased are deposited in a *chorten* (a cenotaph of mud and stone in the shape of a stupa) erected over the site of cremation.

T 765

When a death occurs, the surviving relation is regarded as ceremonially unclean. If she be a surviving wife, the custom observed in Manchat is that she must wear her clothes back to front, unplait her hair, discard every safety-pin or button used to keep her clothes together, and substitute pieces of stick for all fastenings. She is not permitted to approach the family hearth, and when eating food she must use a stick instead of a spoon. Other relations of the deceased are also forbidden to eat food until the body has been burnt.

WT 765

In Bunan (a district in Lahoul) the restrictions for mourners are not so severe. There the husband discards one of his ear-rings, and wears the rim of his cloth cap turned down over his ears, whilst a surviving wife takes off the gold petals from her silver head-cup.

T 765 769

Funeral ceremonies in Tibet entail a great deal of expense, as a large body of lamas have to be entertained. Not less expensive are the feasts which have to be given to the members of the community.

The first feast is given on the day of the funeral, followed a week after by another.

At the expiration of the forty-nine days after death when the soul is free to roam about, yet another free distribution of food and beer is made by the surviving relatives.

It is also customary to feed the community before the threshing period subsequent to a death, and again at the end of the New Year festival.

T [775]

At the anniversary of a death the ceremony of *gay-wa* (virtue) is performed, when the community is feasted on a very large scale. This last ceremony is considered of special importance, as this meritorious deed is supposed to secure for the soul of the departed a good rebirth in the six regions of rebirth.

WALTER ASBOE.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir W. Tibetans A14

562 595 Among a rough people like the Bhots it is difficult to say what would naturally be the character of the women; that is, what it would be if they had the same liberty of ordinary social intercourse which they now possess, but held to the rule of one woman to one man. I incline to think that polyandry has a bad effect on their natures; that, beyond the openness which one admires, it makes them over-bold, shameless, and causes them to be in a general way coarser than their other circumstances need make them. And to the same custom I attribute the greater facileness, as compared with neighbouring countries, with which those connections with foreigners are formed that have resulted in so many varieties of half-castes at Leh.

CERTAIN CUSTOMS.

886 428 There is a rather curious custom of the father and mother of a grown-up family retiring from active life and its responsibilities at a time when they may not be much beyond middle-age. When the son is married and has a child then the time has come for the grandfather and grandmother to leave their home, to give up the house and the land to their son. They go into a very small house near, taking only one or two head of cattle, and retaining just enough land for themselves to attend to and raise grain from for their food. After this is done they have no more claim on the son, who becomes legal owner of the family property. There is often a house attached to a holding which is put to this very use. The amount of land to be given over is regulated by custom; this, on the death of the old people, comes back to the estate. If there be *two fathers* alive they are both got rid of and provided for in this way.

764 177 In the disposal of their dead the Bhots follow the Hindū custom of burning. But whereas the Hindūs seldom or never let twenty-four hours elapse between death and cremation, these Bhots keep the corpse for many days, feasting their friends round it; the higher in rank the deceased man was, the longer they keep him from the dissolution of fire.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J 4

Then, when a mile or two from Maulbeck, we struck the first of the hundreds of monasteries, chortens and prayer walls. Chortens are white-washed pagoda erections, something like giant chess-men varying in height from about a yard to forty or even fifty feet. They are the graves of lamas, buried within and not under them, their ashes being mixed with clay, baked into large biscuits and stamped with the image of Buddha. Prayer walls are seven feet high—probably so that none can look down upon them—and about the same width, the tops are apexed and they extend sometimes for hundreds of yards. The stones with which they have been made have been elaborately carved and inscribed with the Tibetan prayer "Om mani padme hom", which in its translation, "God the flower of the lotus", conveys little to the traveller, or for that matter even to the average monk, although it is repeated by him countless times every day, and not only by him, but also by all men and women of the land as they go about their work and as they journey along the road. They are the first six syllables the child is taught to utter, they are the last words gasped by the dying, and during a life-time followers of the Lama Church will have uttered them millions of times and sent them to heaven on prayer wheels billions of times; they are to be found written everywhere. Surely this phrase (or prayer), one which I saw one writer of well back in the past century liken to "Our father which art in Heaven", must be the one written and spoken more than any on this earth, for its origin goes right back and is lost in the dim past. These great walls are built by lamas or monks who spend their lives moving from one place to another doing only that work, thus gaining merit for themselves; each stone so placed is considered a good deed well done. All who pass these walls must go on the left-hand side for by so doing they also gain merit.

Perched high on a spire-like rock which rises above the village of Maulbeck which clusters around its feet, is a white Lamasery or Buddhist monastery, close to which is an enormous figure of Buddha carved in the rock face. Partly hiding this image when one is standing on the roadway, is a rather grand building which is well kept: it seemed odd to me that even the most ignorant of men could have built a house in such a